reason
ECEMBER 1979 $2.00

Which Airlines Are Safest?
SEE PAGE 16

SPECIAL BOOK ISSUE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ADVERTISEMENT

THE FASTEST GROWING CHURCH IN THE WORLD

by Brother Keith E. L'Hommedieu, D.D.

It's quite safe to say that of all the organized religious sects on the current scene, one church in particular stands above all in its unique approach to religion. The Universal Life Church is the only organized church in the world with no traditional religious doctrine. In the words of Kirby J. Hensley, founder, "The ULC only believes in what is right, and that all people have the right to determine what beliefs are right for them, as long as they do not interfere with the rights of others."

Reverend Hensley is the leader of the worldwide Universal Life Church with a membership now exceeding 7 million ordained ministers of all religious beliefs. Reverend Hensley started the church in his garage by ordaining ministers by mail. During the 1960's, he traveled all across the country appearing at college rallies held in his honor where he would perform mass ordinations of thousands of people at a time. These new ministers were then exempt from being inducted into the armed forces during the undeclared Vietnam war.

In 1966 Reverend Hensley was fighting the establishment on another front. The IRS tried to claim the ULC wasn't a legal church and proceeded to impound the ten thousand dollars in the church bank account. The feisty Hensley filed suit against the IRS in federal district court for return of the funds and to permanently establish the ULC as a legal tax exempt entity. On March 1, 1974 Judge James F. Battin ruled against the IRS in his decision which stated, "Neither this court or any branch of this government will consider the merits or fallacies of a religion. Nor will the court praise or condemn a religion. Were the court to do so, it would impinge upon the guarantees of the First Amendment." The judge then ordered the IRS to return the impounded money and to grant the Universal Life Church its tax exempt status.

Reverend Hensley has stated that he believes a church is people and not just a fancy building. He also believes in total freedom and equality for all people. The ULC will ordain anyone without regard to religious beliefs, race, nationality, sex or age.

The ULC's success formula is both effective and unquestionably legal. After a person has become an ordained minister, he or she can join with two other people and form their own Universal Life Church. These three people then make up the Board of Directors consisting of a Pastor, a Secretary and a Treasurer. The ULC will then grant the group the use of its legal church charter complete with both federal and state tax exempt numbers. The newly formed church may then open a bank account in the church's name. Any member of the church can legally donate up to 50% of his or her outside income to the church and take a corresponding tax deduction. The church in turn can pay the complete housing cost of its minister including rent or mortgage payment, insurance, taxes, furnishings and repairs. The church can also provide the minister with full use of an automobile as well as pay for travel and educational expenses. None of these expenses are reported as income to the IRS. Recently a whole town in Hardenburg, New York became Universal Life ministers and turned their homes into religious retreats and monasteries thereby relieving themselves of property taxes, at least until the state tries to figure out what to do.

Brother L'Hommedieu is Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Sacerdotal Order of the Universal Life and serves on the Board of Directors of the International Universal Life Church, Inc.

Churches enjoy certain other tax benefits over the common man on the street. For instance, a church can legally buy and sell real estate or stocks and bonds completely tax free. It can receive tax free income from bank deposits or mortgages. Many churches own large publishing, recording, or other related businesses like hospitals, clinics and schools without paying any income tax.

A church can sponsor any kind of fund raising event such as a concert, play or even bingo. Churches are also exempt from paying inheritance taxes. When the pastor of the church dies, the Board of Directors simply appoints a new pastor and the church goes on.

Reverend Hensley has stated that he personally doesn't believe in the tax exempt status of churches. However, if the government is going to give a free ride to Billy Graham and the Pope, then why not let everybody participate in these blessings. Furthermore, he backs his words up by offering to defend in court the tax exempt status of his congregations.

Since the church was founded in 1962, it has attracted members who are movie and TV personalities, businessmen, government officials, lawyers, and doctors as well as all types of regular working people. During the last 15 years the Universal Life church has blossomed into a full blown grass roots populace movement. Reverend Hensley is ordaining ten thousand new ministers a week and predicts that the church will have over 20,000,000 members by the early 1980's. In addition, requests for interviews and TV appearances continue to pour in.

Anyone who is a member of the ULC will tell you that the ULC is destined to change the world. By unifying mankind into a brotherhood of freedom orientated individuals, each respecting the other's right to live life as they see fit, the Universal Life Church hopes to put an end to all wars. Reverend Hensley admits that this is a pretty monumental task to accomplish, but he also points out that he is already well on the way to reaching his goal.

Rev. Hensley invites all those interested in becoming an ordained minister and receiving complete information and Minister's Credentials, to send a 10^{00} tax deductible donation to the Universal Life Church, 1335 Seabright Ave., Dept. **800**, Santa Cruz, CA 95060

Why Millionaires Legally Owe No Taxes

TRUSTS
ESTATE PLANNING

PLUS

LEARN I.R.S. AUDIT PROCEDURES
FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT
TAX ASPECTS OF A TRUST
OFFERS OF COMPROMISE

MR. and MRS. CITIZEN UNDERSTAND HOW NOT TO OVERPAY THEIR TAXES

All this and more presented by

BARBARA HUTCHINSON

30 Years of Tax Research and Educational Field

FOR INFORMATION ON UPCOMING WORKSHOPS CONTACT:

CITIZENS COURTROOM WORKSHOP

110 WEST C STREET
SUITE 1040
SAN DIEGO, CA 92101
(714) 238-1344

ALL FEES TAX DEDUCTIBLE

SAVE OVER 75% OFF RETAIL PRICE!

$30 worth of Hardcover Books for only

$7.00

Economic Growth and Stability
By Gottfried Haberler
A valuable overview of the subject of economic change in an easy-to-read format, and a powerful argument for policies preserving personal freedom while stimulating growth and stability. How and why is growth policy important? To what extent can growth be influenced by monetary and fiscal policies in a modern and predominantly free enterprise economy? Is growth without inflation impossible?
1974, 291 pp.

Union Power and the Public Interest
By Emerson P. Schmidt
Dr. Schmidt analyzes the role unions play in our society. The economic effects unions have on the production of goods and services leads to many controversial conclusions. Collective bargaining, strikes, productivity, and many other issues relating to unions are examined by Schmidt.
1973, 204 pp.

The Power in the People
By Felix Morley
Written by a Pulitzer-Prize winning journalist, educator, and student of history, **The Power in the People** is a timeless analysis of the Republic in the tradition of De Tocqueville. The book examines not only the foundations of the American form of government, but also those conditions that are essential to its continued growth and to the preservation of freedom for the individual and for the nation itself.
1972, 293 pp.

All three hardcover books are $7.00. A single copy of a hardcover book is $2.50. A paperback copy of "The Power and the People" is $1.50.

INSTITUTE FOR HUMANE STUDIES INC.

Please send order, accompanied by payment, to:
IHS Publications
P.O. Box 2256
Wichita, Kansas 67201

December 1979/Vol. 11, No. 8

reason

A forum for analysis and commentary, with an emphasis on individual liberty.

BRITAIN DOWN THE DRAIN?
By Antony Flew 22

HOUSING PROTECTIONISM
By John McClaughry 25

CHALLENGING THE PUBLIC SCHOOL MONOPOLY
By E. G. West 27

NOZICK UNDER FIRE
By J. Charles King 31

THE POLITICAL ORDER OF A FREE PEOPLE
By Douglas J. Den Uyl 33

RESURRECTING RIGHTS
By Jeffrey Paul 36

SCIENCE FICTION COMES OF AGE
By John J. Pierce 38

URSULA LE GUIN: NOVELIST
By Jeff Riggenbach 41

AN ALL-TOO-POSSIBLE FUTURE
By F. Paul Wilson 42

AMERICAN DISSIDENTS
By Justus D. Doenecke 45

HERBERT SPENCER: RADICAL ANTISTATIST
By Ellen Frankel Paul 50

UNDERCUTTING EGALITARIANISM
By Wallace I. Matson 52

EDITORIAL/Press Hypocrisy .....
VIEWPOINT/Is Liberty Enough? 58
SPOTLIGHT/Pushing Decriminalization 59
EDITOR'S NOTES 8
LETTERS 10
BRICKBATS 15
TRENDS 16
MOVIES 60
RUDEBARBS 61
CLASSIFIEDS 66

Cover photo by Kelley Dwyer

REASON is published monthly by the Reason Foundation, 1129 State St., #4, Santa Barbara, CA 93101. Tel. (805) 963-5993. Second class postage paid at Santa Barbara, CA, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Please send Form 3579 to REASON, Box 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93103.
Copyright © 1979 by the Reason Foundation. All rights reserved. Opinions expressed in signed articles or columns do not necessarily represent the view of the editors.

CORRESPONDENCE: Address comments, manuscripts (for return, please include a self-addressed, stamped envelope), classified ad orders (with full payment), and subscription orders to REASON, Box 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93103. Two copies of manuscript required. Author information sheet available on request. Address mail concerning display advertising to Bill Burt, 1129 State St., #4, Santa Barbara, CA 93101.

CHANGES OF ADDRESS: Please allow six weeks for change of address. Send address label and new address to Circulation Dept., REASON, Box 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93103. Requests for missing issues due to late notice of change of address, or older than two months from current date, will not be honored unless accompanied by payment.

ISSN 0048-6906

reason

EDITOR
Robert Poole, Jr.

ASSOCIATE EDITOR
Marty Zupan

SENIOR EDITORS
Tibor R. Machan Manuel S. Klausner

ASSISTANT EDITOR
Christine Dorffi

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

David Brudnoy
James Dale Davidson
Edith Efron
Mark Frazier
John Hospers
Eric Mack
Henry G. Manne
William Marina
Karl Pflock
Alan Reynolds
Murray Rothbard
Thomas Szasz

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS

Prakash Aswani/Middle East
Anne Brinckner/Denmark
V. R. Forbes/Australia
Ole-Jacob Hoff/Norway
John-Henri Holmberg/Sweden
Riccardo La Conca/Italy
Henri LePage/France
Leon M. Louw/South Africa
Guy de Maertelaere/Belgium
H. Joachim Maitre/West Germany
N. G. Molinelli/Argentina
Michael van Notten/The Netherlands
Luis Reig/Spain
Pauline Russell/England

DEPARTMENTS

Tim Condon/Taxes
Thomas Winslow Hazlett/Brickbats
John Hospers/Movies
Randall K. Hylkema/Rudebarbs
John R. Lott/Spotlight
Robert Poole, Jr./Trends
Mark Tier/Money

ART DIRECTOR
Nanette Boyer

TYPESETTING
Jean Graphics

STAFF

Annarose Aker
Elizabeth Anderson
Robert Bakhaus
Ashley Brooks
Merton Fine
Louis A. Rollins

ADVERTISING: For display advertising contact Bill Burt at [805]963-5993, 1129 State Street, #4, Santa Barbara, CA 93101. Obtain rate card before sending copy. Send classified ad orders with full payment to Reason Classifieds, Box 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93103.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Single copies, $2.00. Subscriptions: one year (12 issues) in the United States, $19.50; 2 years, $34.00; 3 years, $45.00. Other countries: add $2.00 extra per year.
BACK ISSUES: Write for back issue list for current prices. Volumes 1-4 are available on microfilm from University of Southern California Library Micrographics Dept., University Park, Los Angeles, CA 90007. Volumes 5 and up are available from Xerox University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life.*

editor's notes

• **NEW ADVISOR.** We are pleased to welcome to the Advisory Board of the Reason Foundation Prof. William R. Allen of the University of California at Los Angeles. Prof. Allen is well known as the coauthor (with Armen Alchian) of *University Economics*, one of the first (1964) and still one of the best of today's crop of free-market-oriented economics textbooks. He is also the president of the International Institute for Economic Research, a public-policy educational organization based near the UCLA campus. Allen was profiled in a REASON Spotlight in our December 1978 issue.

• **STAFF CHANGES.** This month REASON welcomes two new staff members to Santa Barbara. Joining us as assistant editor is Christine Dorffi. Born in the Philippines, Ms. Dorffi was assistant editor of *Business Outlook* in Manila and was a staff writer for *Sunburst*, a general-interest magazine also published in Manila. In the United States she has worked for Airline Services Unlimited, publisher of *ASU Travel Guide* and *Between the Lines*, and for Guidelines Publications. A free-lance writer as well, Ms. Dorffi's article on private police appeared in REASON's August 1979 issue. Until last month Ms. Dorffi served as chair of the Libertarian Party of San Francisco.

Joining the staff as Office Manager is Robert Bakhaus, formerly of Houston, Texas. Mr. Bakhaus has worked on the staffs of both Louisiana state representative Woody Jenkins and Congressman Ron Paul. For a number of years he has published a libertarian newsletter, *Efficacy*, which began as the successor to *Innovator*, one of America's first nationally circulated libertarian periodicals (predating even REASON).

• **MEDIA BRIEFS.** The deschooling movement, first discussed in these pages by John Holt eight years ago ("Deschooling Society," April-May 1971), is gaining new respectability. First there was a full-page article in *Time* some months back. And more recently (September 13) it has made page one of the *Wall Street Journal*. The latter, as did the former, quotes Holt on the growth of the home education movement and ways to get around compulsory-attendance laws. These topics are covered regularly in Holt's little newsletter, *Growing without Schooling* (308-R Boylston Street, Boston, MA 02116, $10).

Another fascinating indication of respectability is a long discussion of and interview with F. A. Hayek in the October 1 issue of *Forbes*. That article is, in fact, the magazine's cover story, headlined "The Revolt against Keynes." The article/interview goes beyond the usual superficialities to probe the depths of Hayek's thought. The result is very informative—and very favorable to the cause of liberty.

• **REGULATION BOOK.** The Reason Foundation's projected book on federal regulatory agencies—*Instead of Regulation*—is shaping up into a formidable array of talent. Among the authors and their topics will be George Benston of Rochester (on the SEC), Stephen Breyer of Harvard (CAB), Mark Crain of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute (NHTSA), George Hilton of UCLA (ICC), Roger Meiners of Texas A&M (CPSC), Robert Poole, Jr. (FAA), Alan Reynolds (DOE), Robert Smith of Cornell (OSHA), Ida Walters (FCC), and David Weimer (FDA). Discussions are under way with several possible authors for the remaining chapters. We are actively seeking contributions and grants to fund this exciting project, which will develop private alternatives to each major federal regulatory agency.

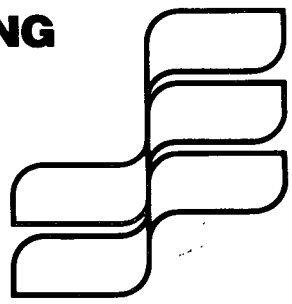
• **BOAT PEOPLE.** In the October issue John Hospers reported that the Na-Griamel people of the New Hebrides islands had invited Southeast Asian refugees to resettle there. Before that issue had come off the presses, a very similar proposal was made by ex-CIA director William Colby. Instead of the New Hebrides, Colby suggested New Caledonia, several hundred miles to the south. Like the former, the latter is French-run, has the same tropical climate as Indochina, is underpopulated, is only partially developed, and is already home to a number of Vietnamese. All well and good, except for one little problem: unlike the situation in Na-Griamel/New Hebrides, nobody in New Caledonia has yet extended an invitation.

• **NOTICE.** On the cover of our June 1979 issue we used an artist's rendition of a dollar sign depicted as a Superman "S." We have been informed that the Superman "S" is the exclusive property of DC Comics, Inc., and we regret any impropriety in our aforementioned use.

—R. P.

1979 LIBERTARIAN PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING

Convention Recordings



THESE CASSETTES ARE AVAILABLE:

1. **DICK RANDOLPH**—Libertarian member of Alaska's House of Representatives discusses the Alaska LP.
2. **ROY CHILDS**—The convention opener, he got things going with a great start!
3. **RON KOVIC**—Famous Viet Vet leader and author puts **"THE DRAFT"** into perspective with other issues.
* 4. **"THE TAX REVOLT"** Panel—James Tobin, chair, with Paul Gann, Armin Moths, Jim Davidson and Trevor Grimm on using the tax revolt to promote libertarianism.
5. **DR. THOMAS SZASZ**—This witty and internationally respected author, teacher and psychiatrist turns his formal topic "Mental Health Under Carter" into an analysis, **"PSYCODRAMA IN THE WHITE HOUSE."**
6. **NICHOLAS VON HOFFMAN**—Syndicated columnist and popular speaker addresses a favorite topic of libertarians: **"POLITICS: WHY IT AIN'T CREAM THAT RISES TO THE TOP."**
7. **JOHN LOFTON, JR.**—An editor and syndicated columnist eloquently states the case against **"BUREAUCRACY."**
8. **"FIGHTING THE DRAFT"** Panel—Tom Palmer, chair, with Ron Kovic and Milton Mueller discussing strategies to fight the draft, why it is an issue and how to use it.
9. **JAMES DALE DAVIDSON**—Author, scholar, journalist and leader of the National Taxpayer's Union is introduced by Murray Rothbard to speak on the **"BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT."**
11. **NATHANIEL BRANDEN**—This was **THE BEST SELLER** of the convention—**"THE COMING CHALLENGE TO LIBERTARIANS."**
12. Manny Klausner moderates **"NUCLEAR ENERGY DEBATE"** between **JOHN GOFMAN** (father of the anti-nuclear movement) and **DR. SAGAN: "IS NUCLEAR POWER COMPATIBLE WITH LIBERTARIAN SOCIETY?"**
13. **"LIBERTARIAN PUBLICATIONS"** Panel—Bob Poole of **REASON MAGAZINE** and Vince Miller of the **MERCURY** give information on starting your own periodical.
14. **GORDON BROWNELL** of **NORML** puts **"MARIJUANA"** issue into historical and political perspective.
* 15. **MICHAEL EMERLING**—More on the **"ART OF POLITICAL PERSUASION"** from this political consultant.
* 16. Society for Individual Liberty's **TENTH ANNIVERSARY BANQUET**—over three hours of reminising, speaking, laughing and live music with Nathaniel Branden, Robert Le Fevre, Murray Rothbard, Roy Childs, Don Ernsberger, Dave Walton and many, many others. ($9.00)
17. **ED CLARK**—Convention campaign speech to stir support for his nomination.
20. **DR. RALPH RAICO**—Senior Editor of **INQUIRY** humorously rebuts the **NATIONAL REVIEW** attacks on libertarians entitled **"CONSERVATIVES AND OTHER ANTI-SOCIAL ELEMENTS."**
21. **HON. EUGENE McCARTHY**—Former Senator and Presidential Candidate criticizes the **"TWO PARTY MONOPOLY."**
22. **"LOCAL PROBLEMS, LIBERTARIAN SOLUTIONS"**—Bill Burt moderates the panel of Dick Bjornseth and Mark Frazier for libertarian candidates for local office.
23. **ALAN BARON**—Editor and political advisor gives a pro's view of **"POLITICAL TRENDS IN AMERICA"** toward libertarianism.
24. **"THE ENERGY CRISIS"** Panel—Four economists, Dom Armentano, chair, Jim Johnston, David Henderson and H. Bruce Johson analyze the energy issue.
25. **DAVID F. NOLAN**—The founder of the LP gives guidance on promoting the LP in **"A MARKETING AND PROMOTIONAL STRATEGY FOR THE 1980'S."**
26. **DR. WALTER WILLIAMS**, author and professor of economics explains how government has caused unemployment in his talk **"GOVERNMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT."**
27. **"CURRENT FEMINIST ISSUES: SOME LIBERTARIAN PERSPECTIVES"** Panel—Christine Dorfi, Sharon Presley, Janice Allen, Lynn Kinsky.
28. **MORTON HALPERIN**—An enlightening exposé of the **"FBI AFTER HOOVER."**
29. **"GUN CONTROL"** Panel with Alan Gottlieb, Richard Gardner, Donald Kates, and Merle Jacobs provides a wealth of information on Constitutional, regulatory and legislative situations.
30. **DR. EARL RAVENAL**—Professor and expert on foreign affairs is introduced by Roy Childs to speak on **"THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY"** and defend non-interventionism.
* 31. **"FUTURISM AND THE FREE SOCIETY"** Panel—Moderated by Bob Poole with Mark Frazier, Gary Hudson, Joseph Martino, Carl Helmers and Robert Anton Wilson. This illustrious panel discusses the many likely scientific advances and libertarian awareness.
32. **ROGER MACBRIDE**—The 1976 Libertarian Presidential Candidate gives personal insights and **"THE PROSPECTS FOR THE LIBERTARIAN PARTY."**
33. **BILL HUNSCHER**—Convention campaign speech to stir support for his nomination.
34. **"QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS"**—Presidential candidates Clark, Hunscher and Larson face the delegates.
40. **PAUL GANN**—co-author of Proposition 13 speaks on **"AMERICA'S TAX REVOLT."**
41. **MURRAY ROTHBARD**—**"THE FUTURE OF LIBERTY"** is a classic example of Murray's undying optimism.
42. **DR. JOHN HOSPERS**—1972 Libertarian Presidential Candidate speaking on **"HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA."**
43. **"CAMPAIGN MANAGEMENT"** Panel—David Boaz, chair, with Bob Baures and Gary Greenberg, is a must for any LP candidate or serious worker.
44. **ERNEST FITZGERALD**—Fired from the Air Force for his C-5A revelations and reinstated, he speaks on **"BUREAUCRACY"** from the point of view of an insider.
46. **DAVID FRIEDMAN**—This popular economist details many issues in **"LIBERTARIAN UNDERCURRENTS IN ECONOMICS."**
47. **DR. THOMAS G. MOORE**—LP expert on **"TRANSPORTATION DEREGULATION."**
48. **"INFORMATION POLICY"** Panel—Mike Anzis and M.L. Hanson discuss privacy in computer and financial transactions.
* 50. **PRESIDENTIAL BANQUET** with **ROBERT RINGER**, author of current best seller **Restoring the American Dream. ED CLARK** addresses the gathering and **ORSON BEAN**, TV personality, is master of ceremonies.
51. **ROLL CALL VOTE** for LP Presidential Nominees from the convention floor.
52. **ED CLARK**—Acceptance Speech for the Presidential Nomination.
53. **DAVID KOCH**—Acceptance speech for the Vice Presidential Nomination and presentation of Prometheus Award to F. Paul Wilson.
54. **NOMINATING SPEECHES** for Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates from the convention floor.
55. **LIBERTARIAN WIT:** Tape **ONE**—The funniest and sharpest comments and stories extracted from speeches, panels and floor proceedings recorded at the convention.
56. **LIBERTARIAN WIT:** Tape **TWO**—Another hour of anecdotes and humor from the convention recordings.
57. **LIBERTARIAN WISDOM:** Tape **ONE**—One hour of profound statements, eternal truths and thought provokers distilled from the best libertarian minds in the world speaking at the convention.
58. **LIBERTARIAN WISDOM:** Tape **TWO**—More nuggets of clear thought, reason and rationality gleaned from the convention tapes.
60. **RON PAUL**—Physician and U.S. Congressman from Texas dissects the **"KENNEDY AND CARTER HEALTH PLANS."**
61. **LEONARD LIGGIO**—Editor and historian expounds on **"IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL PARTIES."**
62. **"NON-GOVERNMENT EDUCATION"** Panel—John Bailey, Jim Clarkson, George Smith and John Hospers discuss the practical aspects of private education and problems with state education.
63. **STEVE CHAPMAN**—Journalist analyses the campaign of **"JOHN CONNALLY AND THE POLITICS OF POWER."**
65. **GEORGE SMITH**—An author effectively presents the **"CASE AGAINST STATE EDUCATION."**
66. **PETER BREGGIN**—This Psychiatrist analyses the psychology of Liberals in his talk **"COMMUNICATING WITH LIBERALS."**
67. **JEFF RIGGENBACH**—Executive Editor of **LIBERTARIAN REVIEW** traces cultural changes and finds the 60's counter-culture revolution is still on and basically libertarian in **"WHAT THE SIXTIES PROMISE FOR THE EIGHTIES."**
68. **ALAN CRAWFORD**—The political analyst and writer discusses the ominous aspects of **"THE NEW RIGHT."**

The following numbers were not used: 10-18-19-35-36-37-38-39-45-49-59-64-69.

*Denotes two cassettes are used. These cost $7.00 per pair. Notice #16 costs $9.00 and is three cassettes.

HEAR THESE:

SZASZ · CHILDS
ROTHBARD · RINGER
BRANDEN · FRIEDMAN

AND MANY OTHERS LISTED AT LEFT

ONLY $5.00 EACH

UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED IN LISTING BY *

OR CHOOSE FROM THESE

SPECIAL PACKAGES

A BEST SELLERS—These tapes were those which sold the most copies during the convention ($71.00 value) $59.00 package
#1-2-5-11-16-26-31-41-42-46-52-65-66

B For Inspiration and Motivation—These were the dynamite at a high-charged convention ($34.00 value) $29.00
#1-2-11-16-41-52-54

C Issues and Answers—Here are the experts discussing most of the important issues facing Libertarians in the 1980's ($70.00 value) $59.00
#4-8-9-12-14-24-26-27-29-30-46-47-60-62

D Wit and Wisdom—These four tapes were not available at the convention but were compiled from the listed recordings and the floor debate. They will make you laugh and think. ($20.00 value) $18.00
#55-56-57-58

E For Theorists and Thinkers—Chosen for their ability to provoke thought and give insight ($37.00 value) $32.00
#11-23-31-66-67-68

F Campaign Aids—Candidates and campaign workers need these tapes ($32.00 value) $24.00
#1-13-15-22-23-43

G **ENTIRE SET**—All the recordings listed on the left except the Wit and Wisdom tapes (#55-58) $198.00—$270.00 value!
The BEST deal!—26% discount

GUARANTEE—All recordings are clear, intelligible and complete (usually with introductions). All cassettes are guaranteed for LIFE against defects—send defective tape for FREE replacement to LIBERTY AUDIO, 2820 Hull Street, Richmond, Va. 23224.

LAFS
LIBERTY AUDIO & FILM SERVICE
2820 Hull Street
Richmond, Va. 23224

PLEASE SEND ME THESE TAPES:

ENTER TAPE NUMBER OR SPECIAL PACKAGE LETTER ABOVE.

Enclosed is $ _____ for the above entered individual cassettes or special packages with ten percent added for First Class, Priority Parcel Post or UPS delivery. My address is printed below:

Name _____

Street _____

City, State, Zip _____

Master Charge / VISA Card # _____

Bank No. _____ Expiration Date _____

Authorization Signature _____

Press Hypocrisy

editorial

ACCORDING TO HOWARD K. SMITH, who used to be ABC's liberal apologist for the likes of Lyndon Johnson regarding the glorious Vietnam endeavor, "The assault by the American judicial system, headed by the Supreme Court," on the freedom of the press is "spectacular and scary." So reports *TV Guide*. Smith, who in Las Vegas addressed the Radio Television News Directors Association, is just one of the innumerable media people sounding off about the dirty deal perpetrated lately upon the Fourth Estate.

In fact, the situation they are protesting is largely of their very own making. If any group of professionals can be held primarily responsible for the erosion of liberty in our land, it is the members of the media, including all those who utilize the commercial presses and airwaves to speak and write what's on their minds. This is admittedly a very large, often not intimately connected, group of people. It includes everyone from the local talk-show host on an independent television or radio station to the editors of the *New York Review of Books* and the authors who publish with Random House and Harvard University Press. And many more. I'll call this group the verbalists. They make it their profession to write or speak, not unlike I do. And the bulk of this group has gone to the greatest lengths in the last 50 years to rid the United States of human liberty.

Of course, they have remained for the most part well-protected by the most explicit and least ambiguous of the amendments included in the Bill of Rights, the first, with its provision for freedom of the press. Congress shall make no law regarding this, you might recall. While not consistently and constantly observed, this has been one original sentiment of the Founders generating great consensus. For the press, this has meant a clear advantage over less well protected professions and has thus ensured its elitist status.

The verbalists have proceeded to advance some of the most horrendous statist notions. And if the rest of the community tries to respond? If a printer, for instance, were to refuse to service some publisher because the publisher is advocating asinine ideas in his magazine? The rest of the press would join this publisher with outrage about the way in which the printer is attempting censorship and undermining the very foundations of the republic. Should, however, some editor at the *New York Times* advocate that landscapers, or street vendors, or barbers be licensed, nothing dangerous would be perceived, and fellow journalists would commend one another for public spiritedness.

One need not stick to hypotheticals. Recent proposals in Los Angeles to institute extensive rent control have had enthusiastic support from the news media. On September 6, the reporters on the CBS affiliate, KNX-TV, expressly bemoaned the reluctance of the Los Angeles politicians to rush to judgment with the rent control measure. They gave not the slightest hint that there might be a side to the controversy favoring the case of apartment owners. This example is one of literally thousands.

In short, the overwhelming majority of those who write and speak for a profession refuse, to their peril, to recognize the indivisibility of human liberty. One cannot rationally expect that after all the other members of the community have been enslaved to the hilt, the press will somehow be spared. Yet it is just this expectation that has fueled the hypocrisy of the press for two generations.

The situation is made even worse by the fact that the loss of liberty for others makes the press's job easier. As the rest of society becomes less and less free of government, people in that society lose more and more of their privacy and facts about them become public record. A news reporter can nowadays go to various public records and get information on virtually anything or anyone in order to write his expose, his in-depth analysis, his investigative report on IBM or the inventory practices of the local haberdashery. Members of the press have their raw material supplied virtually free of charge when the rest of the country around them is nationalized, municipalized, or simply politicized.

But the chickens are now coming home to roost. While the loss of the freedom of the press is indeed a tragedy, it isn't greater, as far as the rule of law and the overall value of liberty are concerned, than anyone else's loss of liberty. And in the last few years the courts have in effect begun to say, "Well, the press is an industry, and since we have been encouraged to regulate industries right and left, it's about time we regulate this enormously influential industry, as well." Now, with various major decisions—the *Farber* case, the *Stanford Daily* case, and the *Herbert* case—having gone against the desires of the press (not, however, all so simply against its liberty, for in the present situation it is entirely unclear what does and what does not advance liberty), Mr. Smith and his colleagues are upset. As Smith said, these "outrageous decisions... simply have to be fought with every wise means" possible.

The wisest means, Mr. Smith, would be to fight for freedom on every front. To cry out as much against the court decisions that allow government to ransack the records of businesses, to subpoena everyone who might have some light to shed on some alleged antitrust violation, and to be privy to citizens' financial transactions by confiscating bank property—that would be just a good beginning. Another might well be to start coming out vigorously against public broadcasting, the first step to the eventual nationalization of the verbalist profession. Then to attack the public school system, which has placed the government into a position of mind-shaper and has destroyed competition in the sphere of ideas. There are millions of other possible areas of attack, where the fascistic decisions of courts "have to be fought with every wise means."

Only when the likes of Mr. Smith will consistently defend individual liberty, not just for their own ilk but also for those who are not in the profession of giving verbal expression to their own interests (all the doctors, plumbers, businessmen, carpenters, oil producers), will their outrage at the recent judicial harassment of the press be appreciated as fully justified. One cannot defend one's interest in the name of justice and ignore the same interest in the rest of the community, especially when one regards it as one's profession to be the conscience, fact-finder, reporter, and advocate of the community—as the Fourth Estate, somewhat vainly, surely regards itself.

Tibor R. Machan

LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS

Liberty • The Free Market • The Open Society

BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

BRITAIN: A Future That Works by Bernard D. Nossiter **$9.95**
1985 by Anthony Burgess **$8.95**
THE COMING CONFRONTATION by W.H. Chaloner et.al. **$8.50**
LAW LEGISLATION AND LIBERTY VOL.3 by F.A. Hayek **$14.00**
REASON AND MORALITY by Alan Gewirth **$20.00**
A RATIONAL ANIMAL AND OTHER ESSAYS by Anthony Flew **$14.50**
BEAST AND MAN by Mary Midgley **$12.50**
THE PRINCIPLES OF ETHICS by Herbert Spencer **$6.00/$18.00**
THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION HUSTLE by Bernard S. Frieden **$12.50**
THE LANGUAGE OF THE NIGHT by Ursula K. LeGuin **$9.95**
FOR THE RECORD by Felix Morley **$15.00**
MEMOIRS OF A DISSIDENT PUBLISHER by Henry Regnery **$12.95**
EDUCATION BY CHOICE by Coons & Sugarman **$4.95/$12.95**
ALONGSIDE NIGHT by J. Neil Schulman **$8.95**

RECENT ADDITIONS

RESTORING THE AMERICAN DREAM by Robert J. Ringer. The lucidly written best seller that defends individual rights, demonstrates the superiority of the free market and shows the personal relevancy of fighting for a free society. (hd, 310p) **$12.50**

THE ECONOMICS OF THE TAX REVOLT edited by Arthur B. Laffer and Jan P. Seymour. Collection of essays analyzing the "Laffer Curve," the Kemp-Roth Tax Reduction Bill, National Energy Planning and the Jarvis-Gann Initiative (Prop. 13). (pb,138p) **$4.95**

FORTY CENTURIES OF WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS by Robert L. Schuettinger and Eamonn F. Butler. Entertaining and well-written case studies of inflations and wage-price controls from ancient times to the present. (pb,180p) **$4.95**

CONCEIVED IN LIBERTY, Vol. IV: The Revolutionary War, 1775-1784 by Murray Rothbard. Social, political, economic, financial and most of all military history; ideological conflicts; debates on tactics and strategy, and much more in 81 short chapters and 461 pages. (hd,461p) **$14.95**

ENERGY: The Created Crisis by Antony Sutton. Analysis of the world energy crisis and the various government and special-interest policies that have created and maintained it. (hd,164p) **$10.95**

NEW IN PAPERBACK

LEFT AND RIGHT: The Prospects for Liberty by Murray Rothbard **$2.00**
NEW PROFITS FROM THE MONETARY CRISIS by Harry Browne **$2.95**
INTRO. TO OBJECTIVIST EPISTEMOLOGY by Ayn Rand **$1.75**
ATHEISM: The Case Against God by George Smith **$6.95**

BEST SELLERS

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

Bastiat, **THE LAW**, $1
Campus Stds Inst, **THE INCREDIBLE BREAD MACHINE**, $2.95
Friedman, **THE MACHINERY OF FREEDOM**, $10
Hayek, **THE CONSTITUTION OF LIBERTY**, $7.95/$20
Hayek, **THE INTELLECTUALS & SOCIALISM**, $1
Hayek, **LAW, LEGISLATION & LIBERTY, Vol. 1**, $4.45
Hayek, **LAW, LEGISLATION & LIBERTY, Vol. 2**, $4.95
Hess, **THE DEATH OF POLITICS**, $.50
Hospers, **LIBERTARIANISM**, $10
Lane, **GIVE ME LIBERTY**, $2
Lane, **THE DISCOVERY OF FREEDOM**, $5
LeFevre, **THE PHILOSOPHY OF OWNERSHIP**, $4.95
MacBride, **A NEW DAWN FOR AMERICA**, $.95
Machan, **HUMAN RIGHTS & HUMAN LIBERTIES**, $14.95
Machan (ed), **THE LIBERTARIAN ALTERNATIVE**, $9.95/$16.95
Mill, **ON LIBERTY**, $1.95
Morley (ed), **ESSAYS ON INDIVIDUALITY**, $8
Nock, **OUR ENEMY THE STATE**, $4.95
Nozick, **ANARCHY, STATE & UTOPIA**, $5.95/$14
Oppenheimer, **THE STATE**, $3.95
Rothbard, **FOR A NEW LIBERTY**, $5.95
Schiff, **THE BIGGEST CON**, $5.95
Simon, **A TIME FOR TRUTH**, $2.50/$12.50
Spencer, **THE RIGHT TO IGNORE THE STATE**, $.50
Spooner, **NO TREASON: The Constitution of No Authority**, $1
Spooner, **VICES ARE NOT CRIMES**, $3.95
Tucker, **STATE SOCIALISM & ANARCHISM**, $1

ECONOMICS

Bastiat, **ECONOMIC HARMONIES**, $5
Bastiat, **ECONOMIC SOPHISMS**, $3
Block, **DEFENDING THE UNDEFENDABLE**, $5.95/$9.95
Blumenfeld (ed), **PROPERTY IN A HUMANE ECONOMY**, $4.95
Dolan, **TANSTAAFL**, $4.95
Dolan (ed) **THE FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN AUSTRIAN ECONOMICS**, $4.95/$12.00
Friedman, **CAPITALISM & FREEDOM**, $3.45/$9.00
Greaves, **MISES MADE EASIER**, $8
Hayek, **DENATIONALISATION OF MONEY**, $6.25
Hayek, **INDIVIDUALISM & ECONOMIC ORDER**, $4.95
Hayek, **NEW STUDIES In Philo., Polit., Econ. etc.**, $15
Hayek, **THE ROAD TO SERFDOM**, $3.95/$8.00
Hayek, (ed.), **COLLECTIVIST ECONOMIC PLANNING**, $13.50
Hazlitt, **ECONOMICS IN ONE LESSON**, $8.95
Hazlitt, **FAILURE OF THE "NEW ECONOMICS"**, $11.95
Hazlitt, **THE INFLATION CRISIS & How To Resolve It**, $8.95
Katz, **THE PAPER ARISTOCRACY**, $4.95/$7.95
Mises, **THE ANTI-CAPITALISTIC MENTALITY**, $4
Mises, **A CRITIQUE OF INTERVENTIONISM**, $8.95
Mises, **HUMAN ACTION**, $30
Mises, **NOTES & RECOLLECTIONS**, $9.95
Mises, **ON THE MANIPULATION OF MONEY & CREDIT**, $14
Mises, **PLANNING FOR FREEDOM**, $4
Mises, **THEORY OF MONEY & CREDIT**, $6
Mises, **THE ULTIMATE FOUNDATION OF ECONOMIC SCIENCE**, $4.95/$15
Mises, Margit, **MY YEARS WITH LUDWIG VON MISES**, $9.95
Moss (ed), **THE ECONOMICS OF VON MISES**, $3.95/$12
North & Miller, **ABORTION, BASEBALL & WEED**, $1.75
Rothbard, **AMERICA'S GREAT DEPRESSION**, $4.95/$12
Rothbard, **THE ESSENTIAL VON MISES**, $1
Rothbard, **MAN, ECONOMY & STATE**, $10/$30
Rothbard, **THE CASE FOR A 100% GOLD DOLLAR**, $2
Rothbard, **POWER & MARKET**, $4.95/$15.00
Rothbard, **WHAT HAS GOVT. DONE TO OUR MONEY?**, $2
Smith, **THEORY OF MORAL SENTIMENTS**, $2.95/$9.95
Smith, **WEALTH OF NATIONS** (complete), $6.95

HISTORY

Ashton, **THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION**, $2
Bailyn, **THE IDEOL. ORIGINS OF THE AMER. REVOL.**, $3.50
Flynn, **AS WE GO MARCHING**, $3.45
Hayek (ed), **CAPITALISM & THE HISTORIANS**, $3.95
Kolko, **RAILROADS & REGULATION**, $4.25
Kolko, **TRIUMPH OF CONSERVATIVISM**, $6.95
Liggio, **WHY THE FUTILE CRUSADE?**, $1.50
Martin, **MEN AGAINST THE STATE**, $2.50
Martin, **REVISIONIST VIEWPOINTS**, $2.50
Martin, **SAGA OF HOG ISLAND & Other Essays**, $3.95
Radosh, **PROPHETS ON THE RIGHT**, $5.95
Rothbard, **CONCEIVED IN LIBERTY, Vol. 1** (1600-1700), $15; **Vol. 2** (1700-1760), $12.95; **Vol. 3** (1760-1775), $12.95

OBJECTIVISM

Childs, **OPEN LETTER TO AYN RAND**, $.40
Rand, **ATLAS SHRUGGED**, $2.95/$15.00
Rand, **CAPITALISM, THE UNKNOWN IDEAL**, $1.95
Rand, **FOR THE NEW INTELLECTUAL**, $1.75/$10.95
Rand, **THE FOUNTAINHEAD**, $2.50/$15
Rand, **THE VIRTUE OF SELFISHNESS**, $1.75

PSYCHOLOGY

Branden, **THE DISOWNED SELF**, $2.50
Branden, **DISCUSSION OF BIOCENTRIC THERAPY**, $1.25
Branden, **THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SELF-ESTEEM**, $2.50
Browne, **HOW I FOUND FREEDOM IN UNFREE WORLD**, $2.95
Ringer, **LOOKING OUT FOR #1**, $2.50
Schoeck, **ENVY**, $3.95
Szasz, **THE MANUFACTURE OF MADNESS**, $4.95
Szasz, **THE MYTH OF MENTAL ILLNESS**, $2.95
Szasz, **CEREMONIAL CHEMISTRY**, $2.95
Szasz, **THE MYTH OF PSYCHOTHERAPY**, $2.95/$8.95
Szasz, **THE THEOLOGY OF MEDICINE**, $3.95

OTHER

Adler, **ECOLOGICAL FANTASIES**, $2.95
"Diogenes," **THE APRIL GAME**, $1.50
Efron, **THE NEWS TWISTERS**, $1.25
Heinlein, **THE MOON IS A HARSH MISTRESS**, $1.95
Mencken, **MENCKEN CHRESTOMATHY**, $15
Mencken, **PREJUDICES**, $2.95
Mencken, **THE VINTAGE MENCKEN**, $2.45
Mitchell, **U.S. ENERGY POLICY: A PRIMER**, $3
Poole, **CUT LOCAL TAXES**, $2
Rickenbacker (ed), **THE TWELVE YEAR SENTENCE**, $2.75
Rothbard, **EDUCATION, FREE & COMPULSORY**, $1
Russell, **THE GREAT EXPLOSION**, $1.95
Sagan, **DRAGONS OF EDEN**, $2.25
Tuccille, **IT USUALLY BEGINS WITH AYN RAND**, $2.95

Laissez Faire BOOKS

FREE CATALOG

Our catalog, containing over 500 titles on libertarianism, free market economics, revisionist history, philosophy, psychology, education, and other topics, is available free on request.

CREDIT CERTIFICATES

Credit certificates, which may be applied toward future purchases, are given on all orders over $35.00. If your order totals $35 to $49.99, you'll get a credit certificate for $1.00; $50 to $74.99, a certificate for $2.50; $75 to $99.99, a certificate for $5.00; and on orders of $100 or more, a credit certificate for 10% of your purchase.

SATISFACTION GUARANTEED

If for any reason you are not completely satisfied with your purchase, just return the books and we'll promptly refund your money.

Name .....

Street .....

City/State ..... Zip.....

ORDER FORM

ITEM	PRICE

POSTAGE - Add **$1.00** for postage and handling on all orders **$1.00**
N.Y. State residents please add appropriate sales tax.

TOTAL.....

Send your order to **LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS, Dept. R-12, 206 Mercer St., New York, N.Y. 10012.**

letters

Chicago vs. Austrians?

If one carefully reads Arthur Diamond's review [Sept.] of two Austrian economics books, one sees immediately that Diamond's piece is not a review, but rather a debate with one party absent. Why is it that Diamond, a pro-Friedman Chicagoan (coincidentally studying economics at Chicago?) offers us a choice only between Austrian and Chicago methods? Indeed, why does he posit such a choice at all? . . .

And on what grounds is Chicago economics superior? Although Diamond is not rigorous in his answer, we can divine the general thrust by observing that he approves of Austrian writing only when it does not criticize statistical methods. He finds subjectivism "scientifically nihilistic" but doesn't explain why. In what sense is subjective value theory an example of what Diamond would consider "scientifically" useless? I would argue that subjective value theory, as postulated by the Austrians, is as scientific as anything ever penned by the Chicago school.

Is Chicago economics superior because, as Diamond maintains, it sometimes shows that governments can be more "efficient" at providing certain goods and services than the market, and is, therefore, neither the "handmaiden of libertarianism" nor dogmatic and excessively theoretical? But where is the laboratory where the "test" can be made? What advanced, industrialized nation practices "laissez-faire"? And even if Chicago could show that some government program, e.g., the public schools, was more efficient, what would that say? Clearly, if we are all agreed upon the "a priori" definition of "efficient," then we can make certain normative suggestions. Does that let us, as libertarians, advocate the establishment of a public school system? To ask the question is to answer it. . . .

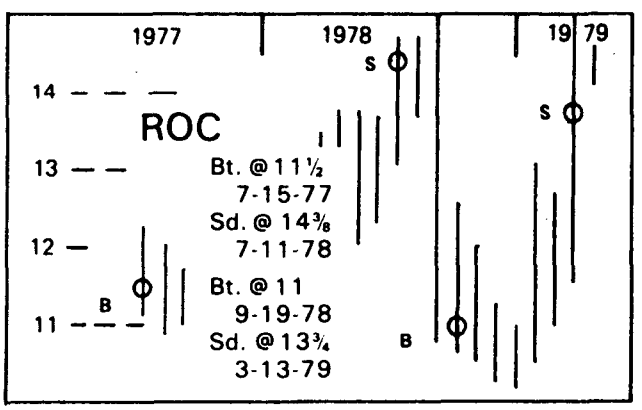
Diamond seems to like free markets and is probably sympathetic to libertarianism. But this is a philosophical and not an economic judgment. Chicago economics tells us nothing about what we ought to do; it tells us what is. But does not Austrian economics do the same? So what? Is Diamond maintaining that cardinal measurement is the way the "fruitfulness of a method" is to be judged? If so, so long to Chicago. Is he maintaining, along with Friedman, that *prediction* is the goal of economics? Again, this approach has problems in that it rests upon the entirely "a priori" assumption that *prediction* is the goal of economics. Could a truer example of a useless tautology be postulated?

One is free to take what one wishes from any economic theory. Like most of us, Diamond would like to believe that those things he advocates are based on "reality." The Austrians, to their infinite credit, although they advocate and strive for value-free economics, state their assumptions and prescriptions openly and without claiming, as "scientific economists" do, that "reality" and "experiments" contrived to "explain" things to them do so. It is not necessary to shotgun straw men made from the components of the theories of one's opponents in order to appreciate that no such choice as Diamond offers us is necessary or advisable. After all, is it not Milton Friedman himself who never tires of reminding us that there is only good and bad economics? Much of Austrian economics is good, and will remain so despite the attempts of the narrow-minded proselytizers who advocate empiricism as the one road to "true science."

Robert L. Formaini
San Francisco, CA

'They Will Fluctuate'

That, in essence, was J. P. Morgan's reply to a reporter who asked him what stocks would do. They will fluctuate, indeed--and that makes good trading profits possible on ordinary stocks. Like our profits on Salant Corp. (previous ad) and Rockower Bros. (below).



We've earned more than twice as much on net capital gains in the past few years as on dividends -- dealing in high-yield stocks. That doesn't guarantee future results, of course. But shouldn't you learn more about our approach? *(1976-79: Net CG $16,284, Divs. $7,943)*

Subscribe to the biweekly Lang Market Letter. Mail this ad with your check for $20 for a four-month trial (or $70 for one year). Payment must accompany order. Include your name, address and zip code. Send to:

The Lang Market Letter
6065 North Kavanagh Ave.
Fresno, CA 93711

Diamond Blind to Austrian Gold

Instead of reviewing a book, Mr. Diamond told us much about what is wrong with Austrian economics without, however, telling us much of what Austrian economics is about. Given Mr. Diamond's attitude toward abstract argument (he is agnostic about its value), I doubt he knows very much about Austrian economics. Certainly no Austrian economist has ever advocated falsifying economic theory to justify libertarian principle, as Mr. Diamond's obliquity suggests. On the other hand, if economic theory supports liberty, or any other political or moral virtue, where is the gain in denying it?

The Chicago school has not gained by denying the connection between ethics and economics. Their protestations of value-free economics amidst their repeated support of the value of freedom come across as mere cant. Paul Samuelson once derided an able member of the Chicago school as a "bigoted devotee of *laissez faire*," and sardonically asked if, "despite all denials, Chicago is not so much a place as a state of mind."

Once we understand Mr. Diamond's agnosticism, his challenge to "show me the explanatory power of Austrian economics" rings a little flat. He proclaims agnosticism toward the human psyche and rails at a science built on human intelligence. He refuses to acknowledge the gold, yet bids to see the glitter. Little wonder that Mr. Diamond overlooks not only the explanatory power of Austrian economics, but also its logical structure, its common sense, its subtle insight, and its solid tradition.

Jack High
Los Angeles, CA

Austrian Revolution

In the September issue Arthur M. Diamond continues his chosen profession of publishing hokey criticisms of the Austrian school....

Diamond criticizes the axiomatic method of the Austrian school—in particular, that (*a*) tautological propositions cannot yield explanatory propositions, and (*b*) the Austrian reliance on deduction and disdain of empiricism is invalid since *a priori* laws provide as much constraint on free will as empirical laws.

With regard to (*a*) one need only, like Rothbard, point to the whole of *Human Action*. Diamond may remain unconvinced, but 90 percent of those willing to take an unbiased look will be convinced.

In regard to (*b*) Diamond is both partly correct and horribly wrong. It is true that some Austrians, particularly Lachmann, have taken too far the unpredictability deduced from human choice. Without a certain degree of predictable quantitative regularly in demand, for example, entrepreneurs could not do what they do. But it remains true that the law that, *ceteris paribus*, quantity demanded varies inversely with price, does not have the same quantitatively constant character as the law that relates the pull of gravity between two objects, that it does not because human beings have choice whereas planets and molecules do not, and that the predictability inherent in the latter law is therefore much greater than that in the former....

Diamond seems to have a strange view of free will, such that any postulated regularity in human nature or behavior constitutes a denial of its existence. But supposing, for example, the demand law to be universally correct, people can (1) still choose how much more/less to buy at the lower/higher price, or (2) choose to reorder their values and shift the demand curve, even if they cannot choose to violate their nature and buy less at a lower price *ceteris paribus*. So Diamond is in-

How To Slash The Cost Of Your Mortgage Loan By 56%

Many people don't realize it but the interest on your mortgage loan will often cost more than your house! For instance, if you buy a $75,000 house with a long-term $60,000 mortgage at 10%, the interest on the loan will come to $129,600—a staggering 72% more than the house itself.

Therefore, seemingly minor differences *in the terms you choose for your mortgage loan* will have a major impact on how much interest you pay. Indeed, 3 of these "minor" differences may *save you upwards of 56% of the interest*—which would put tens of thousands of dollars back in your pocket.

A special new Report from the HOMEOWNER'S MONEYLETTER, *How to Save Thousands on Your Mortgage Loan*, explains in clear, non-technical language...

- 3 specific ways to set up the terms of your mortgage loan to achieve major savings (2 of these ways are simple and require no negotiation; the other is a matter of brief negotiation with the bank).
- Precisely how much you can expect to save. With a $60,000 mortgage, you can slash your interest payments from $129,600 to $56,100, an amazing $73,500 savings.
- Why structuring your loan the right way will build up your equity far faster, in addition to saving you money on your interest. (If you're considering a $60,000 mortgage, you can have $9,200 more equity built up after 5 years...$24,200 more equity after 10 years...than you would without these methods!)
- One method to achieve major savings and faster equity growth especially suited for people on a tight monthly budget.
- How to negotiate a lower interest rate at the bank—using two powerful weapons most people don't realize they have.

Make no mistake—these are financially conservative methods that any home buyer can use. They will maximize your interest savings and financial security, build up your equity faster, and allow you comfortable monthly payments in the bargain.

FREE BONUS

This special Report is yours FREE when you subscribe to the HOMEOWNER'S MONEYLETTER—the only publication anywhere designed to help you manage your investment in your home for maximum profit, pleasure, and economic security.

SATISFACTION GUARANTEED

A one-year Subscription to the HOMEOWNER'S MONEYLETTER is only $24. A three-month Introductory Subscription is only $10. Either way, you're fully protected by our unconditional 30-day money-back guarantee. Furthermore, your subscription is fully tax-deductible if you use the MONEYLETTER for business or investment purposes.

For your free copy of *How to Save Thousands on Your Mortgage Loan* and your subscription to the HOMEOWNER'S MONEYLETTER, return the coupon below. We'll rush the Report out to you within 24 hours.

HOMEOWNER'S MONEYLETTER RE 4
Route 3, Box 127, Shelbyville, Indiana 46176

Please send my Bonus Report, *How to Save Thousands on Your Mortgage Loan*, and start my subscription to the HOMEOWNER'S MONEYLETTER at once.

I understand that I am protected by an unconditional 30-day money-back guarantee; if I'm not 100% satisfied, I may cancel for a full and prompt refund. In any case, the Bonus Report is mine to keep. My check or money is enclosed.

☐ 12 issues, 1 year $24. (I save $16) ☐ 3 issues, 3 months $10.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____

State/Zip_____

The subscription is tax-deductible, if used for business or investment purposes.

1979, HOMEOWNER'S MONEYLETTER

correct, since a quantitatively constant empirical relation between price and quantity demanded, holding for all time, would constitute a denial of free will in a way the *a priori* law does not.

Diamond's last criticism is that, in essence, present Austrians are not as technically sophisticated as present Chicagoans, so the Austrian paradigm must not be as good. This is hardly fair. The Austrian school is rebuilding, and the members of the latest generation have not been at it long. Over time the school has had an amazing record of attracting and developing great minds. The next Mises, Hayek, Bohm-Bawerk, or Menger is probably in training right now. My money is on Roger Garrison. At any rate, look for the Austrian revolution in economics in about 15 years.

James Rolph Edwards
Salt Lake City, UT

Compliment to Mises

It is discouraging to see that after all the effort in recent years—the books, essays, conferences, and summer study programs—to raise the level of scholarship regarding the crucial Austrian-Chicago methodological debate, we are back to first base. It is discouraging because Dr. Diamond, in his review of Mises's *Ultimate Foundations*, ignores the Austrian objections against the Chicago method, the Austrian rebuttals to the Chicago criticisms, and the Kirzner/Rothbard (the "neo-Austrian") refinements on Mises's presentation. There is some reason for Friedman to have done this in his seminal 1956 essay; there is far less reason for Dr. Diamond to have repeated the performance in 1979....

As all the positivists before him, Dr. Diamond unwittingly uses the Austrian method to make his points against the very same method! Notice that nothing is statistically tested or suggested to be tested. Rather, he uses the appeal to common sense to argue that Mises's common sense method is nonsense. So even though the book review is highly critical of Mises, Dr. Diamond has given the dean of the Austrian economists a backdoor show of support.

Robert Bradley, Jr.
Houston, TX

LibertyPress
LibertyClassics

What Should Economists Do?

By James M. Buchanan

This collection brings together Buchanan's important essays on method, many of them previously unpublished. Such a volume, note H. Geoffrey Brennan and Robert D. Tollison in their preface, "provides relatively easy access to a group of significant papers on methodology in economics, written by a man whose work has spawned a methodological revolution in the way economists and other scholars think about government and governmental activity."

James M. Buchanan is University Distinguished Professor and General Director of the Center for Study of Public Choice, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. As a founder of the burgeoning subdiscipline of public choice, and as a public finance theorist and father of a modern school of public finance, Buchanan's work has had worldwide recognition.

Hardcover $8.00, Paperback $3.50.

We pay postage, but require prepayment, on orders from individuals. Please allow four to six weeks for delivery. To order this book, or for a copy of our catalog, write:
LibertyPress/LibertyClassics
7440 North Shadeland, Dept. J28
Indianapolis, Indiana 46250

Losing Amendment

Imagine if you will the following improbable scenario: Democrat leaders sit down with a list of objectives in hand and say, "Let's first implement the program that will cause the most possible economic disruption, aggravate the most voters, and discredit our philosophy the fastest."

Well, that seems to be the direction our friends at the National Taxpayers Union are taking, with support in the pages of REASON from heavyweights such as James Dale Davidson [Viewpoint, Apr.] and Tim Condon [Taxes, May] and without perceptible dissent. I'm talking about the very serious drive to bring an amendment to the constitution, which would require a balanced federal budget. Successfully mandating a balanced federal budget without first correcting related economic problems has two possible outcomes.

A) The Federal Reserve could ignore us and continue to create credit, only now instead of buying meaningless government paper, the Fed begins assuming a genuine financial involvement in corporate paper and even corporate stock. Inflation roars on unabated, nothing is solved, and the whole process goes down as an example of just how ineffective we really can be.

B) Alternatively, the Fed can, at a time of its choosing, stop increasing the money supply, thus raising the interest rate dramatically and plunging our economy into a long overdue but still painful adjustment. The length and painfulness of the recession can be prolonged indefi-

nitely by the ruling class via increased minimum wages, price supports, fair trade laws, and trainloads of welfare goodies. The ruling class/liberal elite would easily be able to transfer all the blame for the ensuing misery to conservatives (and libertarians?), whose idea it was to balance the budget in the first place.

Either way, we lose. Scenario B has the possible consolation of embarrassing both conservatives and liberals, but we should reverse our position unless we want to be permanently injured along with the conservatives. Moving toward liberty will require doing things in some sort of a logical order. It would be more sensible, and much more humane, to revive the economy first. Libertarians should work to cut taxes, cut government spending, deregulate everything, and the budget will balance itself. In short, Mr. Davidson, the proposed amendment to force a balanced federal budget now *is* a bad idea.

David E. Stevens
Enon, OH

Force Is the Problem

It was a bit surprising to read in the September issue of REASON an article on education such as that by Louis Segesvary. It doesn't take a long attack on one book to win agreement to the statement that someone has to teach students to write and that some directed or organized thinking has to go into teaching. But the conclusion would not follow that three kinds of diploma would do more than cover up the fact that there are better ways to encourage learning and describe accomplishment than grading systems and graduating symbols.

There are two things I find wrong with the article beside its length. One is the implication that teachers and school leaders read, understand, and know how to carry out what they may read in books, especially Dewey or even Postman and Weingartner. They mostly don't. The second thing is that the explanation for school failure, wherever it can be observed, is much more complicated than some theory of perception or inviting student participation in their own education.

The author says that compulsory education is another question. But it isn't. It is probably the main question, like so much in American life that is forced without knowing how to reach the goal. One great principle of teaching is to be reasonably sure you have cooperation, compliance, or authority before you proceed to teach. When you have none of

BOOKS FOR SELF-LIBERATORS!!!

Now Available: THE BEST BOOK CATALOG IN THE WORLD

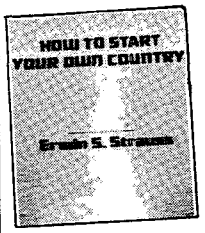
• Huge 11 x 15, over 100 illustrated pages!
• Features nearly 500 of the most controversial and unusual books ever printed!

Topics covered include: Self-defense, self-liberation, fake ID, how to hide contraband and valuables, retreating, police manuals, guerrilla warfare, self-reliance, investigative and undercover techniques, black market, tax avoidance, unusual money-making opportunities, intelligence increase, life extension, privacy, and much more!

This huge unique catalog, crammed with VITAL information, is yours FREE when you order any book below. ($2.00 if ordered separately).

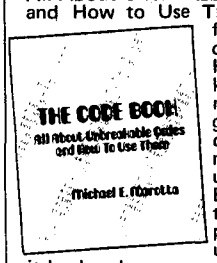
HOW TO START YOUR OWN COUNTRY

Is this the final answer to government tyranny? A study of several new country projects (Atlantis, Minerva, Sealand, and others), with suggestions and alternatives for achieving independence, this new illustrated book is sure to create controversy! From undertakings of the past, to projects underway today, to ideas and opportunities available to **you**, HOW TO START YOUR OWN COUNTRY is a book for every libertarian. $4.95



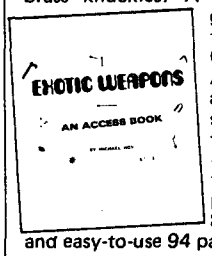
THE CODE BOOK

All About Unbreakable Codes and How to Use Them — Protect your financial records and other personal papers! Hard-to-find secrets known only to international espionage agents and professional cryptographers now revealed for **you** to use! THE CODE BOOK tells **you** all there is to know to produce your own unbreakable codes! Do it by hand, use a pocket calculator, or use a microcomputer! Written in plain, easy-to understand language, THE CODE BOOK is a must for anyone in search of privacy. $6.95



EXOTIC WEAPONS: AN ACCESS BOOK

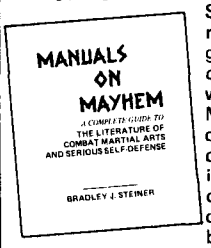
Be able to protect yourself! Need some brass knuckles? A switchblade? A stun gun? Or other hard-to-find weapons? EXOTIC WEAPONS: AN ACCESS BOOK is an absolute **must** for the self-liberator! More than 300 dealers are listed, and sources of further information provided in a large 8½x11 well-organized and easy-to-use 94 page book! $6.95



MANUALS ON MAYHEM

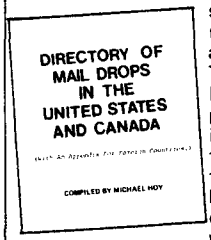
A Complete Guide to the Literature of Combat Martial Arts and Serious Self- Defense

Self defense is **your** responsibility! (The government police can't protect you, anyway!) MANUALS ON MAYHEM lists and describes in detail 150 of the very best books in the fields of close combat and self-defense—all evaluated by an expert! An invaluable study that can save you a lot of time and money. $6.00



DIRECTORY OF MAIL DROPS IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

If you are worried about the government snooping into your mail, you should rent a confidential address. This unique new book lists more than 800 places where you can, including dozens in foreign countries! Protect your foreign bank accounts and other "personal" mail with a mail drop! Well-organized and easy-to-use, only $4.00



UNINHABITED PACIFIC ISLANDS

This unique book describes the history and physical conditions of more than 80 uninhabited islands, with maps showing the exact location of each island! Many of them abound with tropical fruits and vegetables and wild pigs and other game. Birds and eggs are often plentiful, and all the seafood you can eat is available free for the taking! Whether you are interested in starting a new country, or need a hideout, or just plain want to get away from it all, **UNINHABITED PACIFIC ISLANDS** is the book for you! $4.00

REMEMBER!

Our huge 11 x 15 100 page illustrated catalog is FREE with any book! ($2.00 if ordered separately).

LOOMPANICS UNLIMITED R
P. O. Box 264
Mason, Michigan 48854

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Qty.	Title	Price	Total

Please include $2.00 for shipping and handling.

these, you may do what teachers do today: look for school communities where conditions are favorable or look out for yourself in unionism or try to join the rebellion. For rebellion is what has been the reaction of youth to compulsion. Behavior usually has a meaning. And uncooperative or delinquent behavior in school is a sign of rebellion against very unsatisfying conditions....

In the main, the compulsory public schools are subject to the misfortune of not knowing how to win cooperation or respect if it doesn't already exist in good measure in the life surrounding them. And government money or planning is no substitute.

George Beecher
Belleair, FL

Humanistic Illiteracy

I am sorry that Louis Segesvary, in condemning the educational trends that emphasize the ability to "shoot the breeze" at the expense of literacy, did not lay the blame on a group of people who were highly instrumental in furthering illiteracy. I am ashamed to say that these people were known during the late '60s, early '70s as humanists and humanistic psychologists (I say ashamed, because I am a psychologist). Their patron was St. Carl Rogers. They were not only responsible for the total breakdown of education in many areas of the country but also promoted various pseudosciences and sanctioned the totalitarian thugs of the SDS, Yippies, Weathermen, and others. There is a crying need for some scholar to go through the sewer of that era and gather together all the little incidents which they were responsible for, particularly since they are still around, and waiting for a chance to turn the clock back to when they were unquestioned.

Armando Simón
Petal, MS

Open Education

Louis Segesvary [Sept.] does a hatchet job on student-centered open education, but tells us very little about that educational philosophy. The article is a review of Postman and Weingartner's *Teaching as a Subversive Activity*, but the book, especially in the few of their subjectivist notions Segesvary brings up, hardly is representative of open education. When this duo advocates dismantling learning (not just schools—in a later publication they contend that children no longer need to read because reading is obsolete) it has nothing whatsoever to do with open education, which *is* education.

It is a shame that Segesvary doesn't get into some of the *real* philosophical and pedagogical differences between authoritarian, by-the-book teaching and open education. Briefly, the thrust of open education is to provoke *understanding* in a learner by having the learner discover facts by *experiencing* the processes which lead to those facts. It is an attempt to lend *perspective* to knowledge, both by making knowledge of personal importance to the learner and by developing pieces of knowledge in their relation to other disciplines and to the rest of the world. It is a process for taking advantage of the wonderful fact that learning is both aesthetically enjoyable and practically useful, to build on the natural *motivation* of students to learn.

Segesvary recognizes that compulsory education creates two distinct groups: those who are already motivated to learn and do learn, and those who aren't motivated (at least to learn what is taught in school, or who have had their motivation killed by forced schooling) and just put in their time. And yet he proposes we maintain the essentially coercive, anti-individual factor, "basic curriculum requirements." One wonders who will decide what is basic. Maybe we'll vote on it along with millage, because surely Segesvary is talking about *public* schools; we already have private schools offering basic requirements curricula and just about any other one might desire....

The real problem with open education is that it would require teachers to be real *professionals*. They'd have to be able to actually *teach* and have a wide repertoire of pedagogical techniques at their command. They'd have to be able to inspire learners to develop their natural love of learning and they'd have to be able to match teaching strategies to individual student needs. We'd need good teachers. We have few of them now; those who might be good are frustrated by the traditional system, unable, as are students, to express or implement their creativity, and those who might have been good have left the profession or avoided it entirely. Where are we going to get good teachers? Not from the traditional university education schools—experience shows us that—and certainly not from an educational system based on Segesvary's semi-authoritarian ideas.

Rev. Christopher Brockman
Dryden, MI

Fire the DOE

The typical Democratic response to all problems is TAX, SPEND, and CONTROL. Carter's energy proposals up the ante with punitive, confiscatory, discriminatory, counterproductive taxation, massive inflationary, megalomaniacal pork-barrel spending, and rigid authoritarian controls. He is certainly in the right party.

While his July energy speech was in my judgment the most rhetorically eloquent of his career, it would have been eloquent in *substance* if he had merely taken 60 seconds to say: "It was statist solutions to

(*Continued on p. 62.*)

LIBERTY BOOKSTORE
(408) 732-1776

. . . has a large CATALOG of books by

LIBERTARIANS, FREE MARKET ECONOMISTS, TAX REBELS, PHILOSOPHERS, HISTORIANS, ANTI-POLITICIANS, CONSPIRATISTS, CONSTITUTIONALISTS, NUTRITIONISTS, ICONOCLASTS, HERETICS, AND MORE!

Nearly 1,000 titles!

☐ send catalog free by snail mail
☐ I enclose $1.00. Please send the catalog first class mail with a coupon good for $2.00 on any order over $10.00.

Name

Address

DEPT R
184 N. Sunnyvale Ave., Sunnyvale, CA 94086

brickbats

☐ **From the stylish New West,** in the testimony of former *Ramparts* editor Peter Collier, comes new evidence of the magnitude of the radical social change launched by that charming anachronism of 1968 fame, Tom Hayden and his glorious Red Family of Berkeley:

"The Red Family decided at one point to found a child-care center. [A] neighbor ...remembers the naming process: 'In what was supposed to be a lesson in participatory democracy, they decided to ask the children themselves to name the school, emphasizing that the *Red Family* had set this place up for their benefit and now the *Red Family* wanted them to pick a name. But one five-year-old didn't take the hint and said it should be called "Fairyland." The other kids liked that. The people from the Red Family sort of looked at each other in despair and said, "Yes, okay, but don't you think their should be a color associated with this school that the *Red Family* has provided?" "Sure," another child piped up, "it should be 'Blue Fairyland.'"' So that's the name they were stuck with.

"Roger Rappaport, a journalist who now lives one street over from what was the Red Family's compound, says that Jane Fonda visited the collective when she was in the area filming *Steelyard Blues*. 'She apparently put her daughter into Blue Fairyland for a while. The story I heard was that the Red Family, which had been almost torn apart on the issue of sexism, had been having trouble getting the men to show up for duty at the school, but when word got out that Fonda was coming, they competed for the up-front positions.' "

☐ **The very progressive** Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has apparently found the most reliable method yet for controlling population growth: mass defections. With everyone from ice skaters to ballet dancers to beekeepers making heroic dashes to freedom, demographers have been left wondering if the communal wonderland will have any population at all by the year 2000. The sole victory for the Moscow Chamber of Commerce was the steadfast refusal of the wife of Bolshoi Ballet defector Alexander Godunov, Ludmila Vlasova, to jump ship from an Aeroflot luxury liner detained three days at Kennedy International. According to sources inside the workers' paradise, she was counting on many leading roles back in the USSR as the result of her sacrifice to stay in the Communist utopia, but has been bitterly disappointed by her continued second-string status and undoubtedly embarrassed in the face of near-universal castigation by her friends, who consider her a fool for not snatching her golden opportunity. The reaction to the defections in the West was a bit less sophisticated, as demonstrated by the Swiss host of two winners of the acclaimed "Masters of Sport of the Soviet Union," who griped, "I am shocked. I think they abused my hospitality. I don't think they have much of a chance in the West, professionally. They are well past their peak." (A slip of the tongue by a Moscow sports official will surely result in a hearty back-packing trip to Siberia. Commenting on the departure of the championship skaters, Mr. and Mrs. Protopopov, he said: "They had many benefits here. For athletes of that caliber, there are no problems." To each according to his needs?)

☐ **The upshot of all this** is that the Moscow Symphony's visit to the West was torpedoed by Soviet leaders, fearing that they should at least be left with a few tunes to whistle (socialist technology is still heroically trying to crack the intricacies of stereo hi-fi and eight-track tape), and President Carter attempted to ride out the Cuban crisis by waiting until the 3,000-man Soviet army force got its chance to swim to Florida and get drunk at Disney World.

☐ **Perhaps the Soviet exodus** is a response to a recent "law and order" crackdown by authorities in the USSR, in what they term an attack on "hooligans and drunks" who mistakenly believe they may "do as they please" (which is a strange mistake, indeed). The younger generation who, as Uncle Joe promised, would grow up flawlessly under the "guidance" of communist ideals, has been branded by the state press organs as "without ideals, cynical, undisciplined, and psychologically unstable." Things have gone so wild that burglar alarm systems are now being openly advertised in government publications, despite the fact that finding anyone with enough to steal from is a formidable job. The Central Committee has pledged to reduce crime in five major areas, including the all-important category of "speculation in Western commodities such as blue jeans." And in what may be seen as a desperate move to whip up some real spirit for the campaign, young Communists are being badgered by the state to "invent Soviet slogans and designs for T-shirts to combat a craze for the Western variety sweeping the country," according to AP. Calling on budding "artists, humorists, and advertising specialists" to oppose the "bearded idols" of the West, the government suggested coming up with such catchy creations as "Atom-mash-80," the lively title of the Soviet atomic-radiation machinery factory. Meanwhile, in an unrelated story, papers smuggled out of Yuri Orlov's prison camp near Perm in the Urals indicate that fully 2 percent of the Soviet population (over 5 million human souls) remain in forced-labor camps. No television special is planned on the subject.

☐ **The governments of England and France** have given up on the Concorde. But don't say they didn't try. Indeed, they popped an unrecoverable $4.28 billion into R&D and then mass-produced a whopping 16 supersonic transports (this narrowly missed government projections of 400) at a cost of $267 million apiece (which also slightly missed the targeted cost of under $10 million). But, oops, the planes could only be sold for $80 million, so the European taxpayers lost a painful $187 million per unit. Yet the financial onslaught continues, for the bureaucratic flying machines consume so much fuel that their annual *operating costs* (excluding monthly payments on the jet) average 30 million US dollars in the red. As a result, the two governments are fighting over who shall get the five remaining unsold planes; France wants England to take them, and vice versa.

☐ **The state of Ohio** has wisely established a tax on criminal trials, in order to fund compensation for the victims of violent crime. Lillian Nardi, widow of the slain John A. Nardi, is slated to receive 50,000 of such dollars by Christmas time. The late Mr. Nardi, exed in a May 1977 bombing, was a Teamster boss and long-time reputed underworld strongman. The forces of law and order were considerably more diligent in Alexandria, Virginia, where a blue van was hit with not one, not two, but three hefty parking tickets before it was discovered that the driver was sitting right there in the automotive unit—slightly deceased.

—Thomas Winslow Hazlett

trends

Which Airlines Violate Safety Rules

As pointed out in these pages earlier this year (see "Is This Any Way to Run an Airway?" January 1979), the Federal Aviation Administration is loathe to give out any information by which aviation consumers can make their *own* safety decisions. Nevertheless, such information *does* exist, and REASON has managed to obtain some of it. Hidden away in an obscure report entitled "Air Carrier Enforcement History, Jan. 1974 - Jan. 1979" are page after page of computer printout itemizing, for every airline, the specific known violations of Federal Air Regulations on which the FAA has taken final action. To help prevent comparisons, the agency has conveniently failed to add up any totals or present any summaries. But a few hours with a pocket calculator produced the totals listed in the accompanying table. Since airlines vary greatly in size, it would be meaningless to compare directly the number of violation reports. Instead, the data have been "normalized" by dividing the number of reports by the number of 1978 revenue passenger miles flown by each airline.

What can we conclude? To begin with, the figures include only violations which came to the FAA's attention and on which they took action. Some are relatively trivial (e.g., stowing a TV set in an unapproved location) but many are quite serious—operating with defective equipment, failure of pilots to follow air traffic control procedures, etc. Since the violations cover a four-year period, the mix of serious and trivial among airlines tends to even out. To be sure, an airline with 30 percent more violations is not necessarily 30 percent more hazardous to fly—but differences of several hundred percent (as between, say, United and Air West) are probably significant.

From the table we can see that, in general, the 11 major trunk airlines follow the rules more carefully than the others, nailing down the top 11 slots. But even here the worst (Northwest) has 3.3 times as high a violation rate as the best (National). The differences are far more pronounced when we compare regional airlines: for example, note that North Central has five times as high a violation rate as Alaska Airlines does.

So far, we haven't been able to obtain actual *accident* data broken down by airline from the FAA. But since accidents are such relatively infrequent events, it's not clear, statistically, if such data would be a usable indicator of relative risk. For the time being, the adjacent data on air safety violations appear to be at least one factor worth taking into account in making your air travel decisions. With deregulation opening up most routes to significant competition, you will more and more often face a choice of airlines. When that's the case, if one carrier has a significantly lower violation rate than the other(s), you may wish to make it your choice.

AIRLINE SAFETY RULE VIOLATIONS

Airline	FAA Violation Reports (1974-78)	1978 Revenue Passenger Miles (RPM) (billions)	Reports per Billion RPM
1. National	19	7.90	2.41
2. United	109	41.44	2.63
3. Continental	29	8.77	3.31
4. TWA	106	28.21	3.76
5. Pan Am	90	23.66	3.80
6. Delta	90	23.50	3.83
7. Eastern	109	25.23	4.32
8. Western	46	10.63	4.33
9. American	171	29.41	5.82
10. Braniff	60	9.43	6.36
11. Northwest	57	7.22	7.90
12. Alaska	7	0.80	8.76
13. Air West	24	2.72	8.82
14. Allegheny	52	4.24	12.26
15. Air California	12	0.81	14.76
16. Southern	23	1.44	15.98
17. Aloha	6	0.36	16.48
18. Frontier	43	2.38	18.05
19. Ozark	34	1.64	20.80
20. PSA	52	2.50	20.84
21. Southwest	27	1.05	25.74
22. Texas International	51	1.69	30.21
23. Piedmont	45	1.47	30.63
24. Air Florida	6	0.18	33.15
25. North Central	84	1.92	43.64
26. Hawaiian	25	0.48	51.87
27. Wien Air Alaska	30	0.24	125.00
28. Air New England	28	0.07	388.89

Energy Boondoggles under Attack

Scarcely a week goes by without a new attack on the major elements of the Carter administration's energy program—an oil "windfall profits" tax, a synthetic fuels crash program, and continued price and production controls administered by the Department of Energy.

Some of the most stringent attacks are being made on the synfuels boondoggle. *Energy Future*, the report of the Energy Project at the Harvard Business School, throws cold water on the idea of a massive synfuels program. Project team member Mel Horwitch recently told a Senate subcommittee that among the risks of such a program are "inefficient use of funds, hazards to the environment, and, ironically, a future wholesale disillusionment with the synthetic fuels option as a result of a possible backlash. . . as it becomes clear that the grandiose promises we hear today will not be met."

These views are echoed in a new Resources for the Future study, *Energy in America's Future*, released in September. That report stresses the need to subject new energy technologies to the test of the marketplace and emphasizes the benefits of free-market energy pricing. Representatives of both Resources for the Future and the Harvard project suggest that it would be far more prudent to *experiment* with various synfuel approaches than to rush into a huge production program.

Strong opposition to the synfuels crash program is also being heard from environmental groups, who fear massive new

pollution problems, especially if Carter's request for a federal agency to override environmental regulations were also approved. A number of these groups—among them the Conservation Foundation, the Sierra Club, the League of Women Voters, and the National Resources Defense Council—now endorse price *de*control as a key means of promoting energy conservation. Here and there these pleas are being heard—witness Carter's decontrol of heavy-oil pricing and the recently proposed 50 percent boost in the price of natural gas derived from tight sands.

The proposed "windfall profits" tax has come under blistering attack from Sen. Mike Gravel. In a recent paper Gravel claims that the measure is really an excise tax, "simply a revenue measure—a way to help...balance the budget at the expense of an unpopular industry." Gravel calls Carter's treatment of the energy industry "demagoguery" and says these policies are moving us toward nationalization. He also warns that the withdrawal by the tax of over $100 billion from the nation's private investment pool could trigger a depression.

DOE regulations are coming under new fire. The *Washington Post* recently quoted an unnamed DOE official who, faced with testimony that independent oil firms are being destroyed by the regulations, admitted, "That's true....the only answer is to get rid of these regulations. There is no way they can work. They don't protect consumers and they never have." B. J. Goffney, vice-president of Highway Oil, said flatly, "DOE should get out of the regulation business. The regulations are a shambles. The system is beyond repair and not worth the time of day." Goffney's testimony came just a week after the Office of Management and Budget issued a report criticizing DOE for hastily issuing poorly analyzed regulations that have grown into a tangled, confused, and error-filled mess.

The idea of abolishing DOE altogether is beginning to be heard more often these days. Dr. Michael K. Evans, president of Evans Econometrics in Washington, in July called for scrapping the agency. And in September Louisiana Gov. Edwin Edwards made the same recommendation on CBS-TV's "60 Minutes."

And now the role of the feds in creating the energy crisis has been acknowledged in federal court. Earlier this year the International Association of Machinists had brought a price-fixing suit against the OPEC governments. On August 13 US District Court Judge Andrew Hauk ruled against the IAM but delayed releasing his decision until September 22. Judge Hauk dismissed the suit on grounds that it was the US government, not OPEC, that was principally to blame for the energy crisis. "The federal executive branch has helped to create the energy crisis, has helped to intensify this crisis, and has utterly failed to resolve it," he wrote. The DOE "stepped in to turn a small shortage into a large and horrendous shortage. The result was excessive price increases and long lines at domestic service stations."

What if the government had stayed out? That question was answered by a Mellon Institute study released in September. Authored by Roger W. Sant, a former top US energy official, the study concludes that a free-market (or "least-cost") energy strategy might have saved the country *$43 billion* last year. Sant said his eight-month computer study shows that fostering competition among diverse technologies can resolve the national energy problem. Had this approach been in use last year, every man, woman, and child in America would have been $200 richer, according to Sant's calculations.

Agencies Ease Regulations

Experienced bureaucrats have finely honed survival skills. And those heading federal regulatory agencies have some of the best. Thus, in the current mood of deregulation, many agency heads have decided that the best way to survive is to make some deregulatory concessions. By easing their most burdensome regulations, they can reduce the motivation of those most affected to continue pushing for complete deregulation.

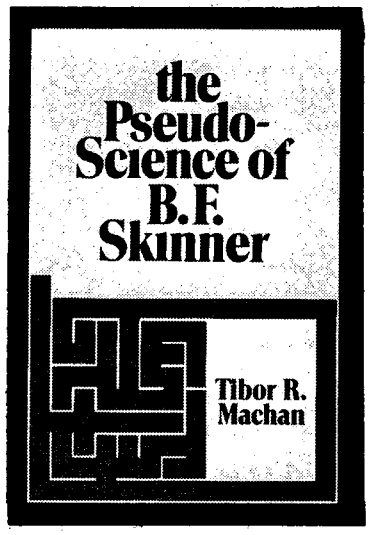
Examples of this practice abound. In recent weeks we have observed the following:

- The Interstate Commerce Commission is proposing to allow railroads to raise or cut rates by seven percent a year with little ICC control. (Under the 1976 4-R Act, such rate changes require a railroad to prove it does not exert "market dominance.") The ICC is also considering easing present restrictions on truck routing, to save fuel.
- The Environmental Protection Agency has withdrawn "unreasonably stringent" clean-water regulations for 64 industry groups, saving them up to $200 million. The rule change substitutes "best conventional technology" for "best available technology" for certain pollutants. In most cases the more stringent rules would have increased clean-up effectiveness by only a few percent—at large cost.
- The EPA has also decided to waive requirements for some 1981 cars that would have sharply reduced carbon monoxide emissions. The waivers, based on requests showing that compliance is not practical by then for certain models, will apply to 20 percent of 1981 cars.
- The Occupational Safety and Health Administration has been ordered by Congress to exempt from OSHA job safety regulations nearly all businesses with 10 or fewer employees.
- The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms has decided that beer advertisements may refer to competing beers by name, instead of just referring to "Brand X." BATF is still considering whether to apply the same standard to ads for wine.
- The Federal Railroad Administration is revising its safety standards to elimi-

"WHAZZAT? DID YOU HEAR A CRASH?"

SKINNER ANSWERED!

40% off the regular price



- **Is behaviorism really scientific?**
- **Is free will a meaningless concept?**
- **Would a Skinnerian society be a dictatorship?**

Tibor Machan addresses these questions in this important book on the ideas of B. F. Skinner. If you're concerned about the relationship of science to ethics and politics, this book is must reading.

B. F. Skinner claims to study human behavior scientifically. But does Skinner's view of science hold up under scrutiny? Skinner's influence *is* considerable in some circles—educational psychology, prison reform, and other areas where behavior mod is in vogue. But his impact is now declining. This book explains why Skinner's views, though at first appearing very helpful, actually deliver far less than they promise.

Dr. Machan takes a unique approach to Skinner's politics. He shows that, *by Skinner's own account*, his views lead to a *technocracy of behaviorists*. Skinner holds that proper values and goals are whatever he and his peers want! (Really!)

Finally, Machan shows why a correct view of science does not conflict with free will and political liberty. He shows why science *cannot* require that human behavior be determined, as Skinner maintains. (Science is committed to identifying and studying human nature—something that precludes deterministic prejudgement by social scientists.)

You can obtain this important book at a substantial savings — 40% *off the regular price*. Regularly $9.95, *The Pseudo-Science of B.F. Skinner* is available to REASON readers for only $5.97. To obtain your copy, send in the coupon below with your check or money order.

Please send me _____ copies of *The Pseudo-Science of B.F. Skinner* at the special REASON price of $5.97 each. My check or money order for $ _____ is enclosed. (California residents add 6% sales tax.)

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Send to Reason Press, Box 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93103. Please allow six weeks for delivery.

nate "unnecessary and burdensome maintenance and inspection requirements," a move it says will save the railroads $100 million a year.

• The Federal Trade Commission has cut back a number of proposed regulations, including some that would have required funeral homes to display their lowest-price coffins instead of just listing their prices. "The less tinkering with the market, the better," said FTC Chairman Michael Pertschuk of the change.

While these changes are welcome news to those being regulated, they leave unchallenged the basic premise that government knows best and has the right to impose its judgments on buyers and sellers. Until *that* premise is overturned, "tinkering with the marketplace" will continue to plague us all.

Paying for Airports

Having airlines pay fees directly to airports to fund improvements is how such matters would be handled in a free market. Yet that is not how they are handled now. At present, the federal government gets into the act, charging an eight percent tax on airline tickets. The proceeds go into a federal trust fund, to be parceled out when and as the Federal Aviation Administration decides. There is no particular correlation between who pays and who benefits. Moreover, in recent years the Office of Management and Budget has been limiting the amount the trust fund can spend each year (since it shows up as part of the federal budget), leading to the accumulation of a $3 billion surplus—and the lack of needed improvements at many crowded airports.

All that would change under a bill introduced by Sen. Howard Cannon. In a significant move toward privatization, it would cut the ticket tax down to two percent, limiting the trust fund's expenditures to small airports and air-traffic-control improvements. Large airports would be left free to negotiate their own user charges with the airlines, to pay for needed improvements. This change, says Cannon, "will eliminate the cost of the middle man, reduce red tape for airport development, and speed up the implementation of needed capital improvements."

Free-market user charges would most likely fluctuate, based on demand, as recommended by economists (see "The Airport Crisis and How to Solve It," REASON, Apr. 1973). Just such a move has now been endorsed by the General Accounting Office. Citing the $800 million cost of air traffic delays in 1977, a GAO report urged that higher landing

fees be charged during peak hours to motivate users to switch to less busy times. Besides saving travelers' time, such charges would also reduce the 700 million gallons of fuel wasted each year by the delays.

New Chinese Freedoms

Both personal and economic freedom seem to be on the increase in China these days. Last summer saw the introduction of a legal code for the first time since the Communist takeover. At least on paper it provides for open trials and legal counsel, prohibits extorted confessions and arbitrary arrests, and gives the judiciary some legal independence. An electoral code provides for election of county councils by secret ballot, with non-Communist candidates eligible to run.

By September Chinese citizens were taking advantage of their new freedoms. "Democracy Wall" in Beijing was back in action, and the underground journals *Explorations* and *April 5 Forum* reappeared on the streets. Some wall posters denounced special privileges for Party members, and one showed an abstract nude figure bound like a prisoner by the coils of the Great Wall.

Economic freedom is reappearing as well. In August the government announced that licenses for private businesspeople—canceled during the Cultural Revolution—will once again be issued to hawkers, door-to-door salespersons, and shopkeepers. In Canton alone, 15,000 licenses were issued in August. The rationale for allowing entrepreneurship to resume seems to be twofold: (1) China's economy can't supply the goods and services people want, and (2) unemployment is getting out of hand in the cities. It's expected that hundreds of thousands of licenses will be issued.

Last winter's decision to allow communes and individuals to farm private plots and sell the produce seems to be paying off. This fall there has been a glut of vegetables, fruits, eggs, and even pork in the markets, attributable largely to individual incentive and the much-maligned profit motive.

Range War Escalates

The range war over federal lands in the west has entered a new phase, with the State of Nevada openly challenging the federal government. "It is time to wrest the land from the perfidious absentee landlord who resides along the banks of the Potomac," exclaims Nevada state Sen. Norman Glaser. And in that spirit the Nevada legislature passed a law claiming ownership of 49 million acres of federal land and allocating $250,000 for a lawsuit to challenge the Bureau of Land Management's title to it.

This "sagebrush rebellion" stems from passage in 1976 of the federal Land Policy and Management Act, which directed the Bureau of Land Management to hold federal land "in perpetuity" instead of systematically disposing of it. As explained previously in these pages (see "Trouble on the Range," Dec. 1977), Nevada ranchers, miners, and timber interests were already chafing at the BLM's restrictive use policies, and the 1976 act proved to be the last straw. Nevada Atty. Gen. Richard H. Bryan is seeking advice from constitutional scholars around the country and vows to file the state's suit "within six months."

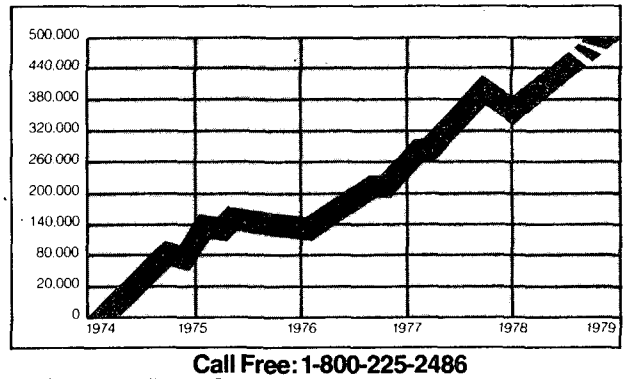
Nevada's action is picking up support. The Western Association of Attorneys General has endorsed the lawsuit, as have 19 state land registrars and the Alaska legislature. A measure calling for similar action passed the California legislature but was vetoed by Gov. Jerry Brown. And in late September the Western Region of the Council of State Governments, meeting in Helena, Montana, passed a resolution asking Congress to

100% per annum

An unbelievable performance record! But fully documented of course! What BTG offers is a whole new way to reduce the risk of commodity trading and maximize profits. In fact, profits of 50%, 75% and even 100% have been earned since 1974. The system's performance presently exceeds 100% so far this year! Most importantly, Boston Trading Group, Inc. is a respected full service brokerage firm with profit opportunities in gold, silver, copper, grains, meats and world currencies.

Naturally, BTG can't guarantee future performance. However, if you are totally committed to earning unusual profits, a limited number of accounts are available at levels custom designed to meet your profit objectives.

So simply fill out the coupon today and we'll rush you the facts.



Call Free: 1-800-225-2486

Mail to: Boston Trading Group, 133 Federal Street, P.O. Box 2776, Boston, MA 02208. (617) 338-2100

☐ Please send me the facts on your Managed Trading Program
☐ Please send your latest "Buy" recommendation

BTG commodities

For your benefit, please type or print all information clearly

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

Business Phone_____ Home Phone_____

BTG is Federally Registered as a Futures Commission Merchant, Commodity Pool Operator and Commodity Trading Advisor.

BTG is a division of Boston Trading Group Inc., a diversified investment management corp. reason

force the federal government to sell *all* its land to state and local governments and the private sector. Another resolution called for civil disobedience by Western legislatures through concerted enactment of laws defying federal statutes and regulations.

The reaction in Congress so far is mixed. Rep. Morris Udall, chairman of the House Interior Committee (which would have to approve any legislation disposing of federal lands), thinks Congress would turn down such a measure. But Sen. Orrin Hatch already has 11 cosponsors on his bill to reverse the 1976 policy and set up a Federal Land Transfer Board to dispose of federal lands.

Private Health Care in Britain

Britain's socialized health care system is ailing. The waiting list for elective surgery grew by 40 percent in the past two years, to 750,000 patients. In several cities, reports *Wall Street Journal* London correspondent Jonathan Spivak, elderly patients must wait two years for hip replacements; children, three years for tonsillectomies. Last winter, unionized hospital orderlies refused to wheel patients to elective surgery. Moreover, the National Health Service provides no health screening or preventive care whatsoever, not even routine physicals.

Under these conditions it's hardly surprising that private medical care in Britain is suddenly booming. There are now eight private health plans enrolling 2.5 million members; the largest—British United Provident Association—is growing at 10 percent per year. Though accounting for only two to three percent of Britain's annual health care spending, the private plans are the only segment of the industry actively building badly needed hospitals. The need for such facilities is so great that even an American firm has gotten into the act, investing $85 million in building seven private hospitals in England and Wales.

But the most ironic aspect of the situation is the fact that union members are now starting to opt for private medical care too. (It was the labor movement, of course, that pushed through socialized medicine after World War II.) In July, 1,500 Birmingham brewery workers became the first union group to sign up. They were followed in August by the 40,000-member Electrical, Electronic, Telecommunication, and Plumbing Union. That defection caused a great outcry from the hospital workers' unions, but to no avail. Some 10,000 London taxi drivers have also joined up.

When even trade unionists find that private medical care is more responsive to individual needs, and worth paying extra for (on top of taxes to support NHS), advocates of State medicine had better do some hard thinking. Are you listening, Senator K.?

Radio Deregulation on the Way

"For many years detailed FCC regulation of radio was thought essential to guarantee that the voices of a few would not so dominate the air waves as to drown the dissenting opinions and tastes of many others. Today the data...indicate that as the number of radio stations has dramatically increased, listeners have been offered a wider range of choices, largely despite, rather than because of, government regulations."

So saying, the Federal Communications Commission proposed to drop two of its regulations of radio stations: limitations on the amount of commercial time and requirements for certain percentages of news or public-affairs material. The nation's 4,548 AM and 4,105 FM stations would be left free to determine such policies in the marketplace. The proposal would also remove the FCC from "detailed consideration" of public-affairs programming as a factor in license-renewal proceedings and eliminate the requirement that broadcasters keep minute-by-minute program logs. But the FCC would leave in place the Fairness Doctrine and the present equal-time regulations.

Reaction to the proposal was generally positive. The National Association of Broadcasters was pleased with the plan and "optimistic" that it would be approved. CBS, Inc., surprised some observers by saying that the FCC "ought to apply [deregulation] to television too." Announced September 7, the proposal is open to public comment for at least 90 days (through early December), after which there will be another 60 days for industry response. Thereafter, unless the FCC is persuaded otherwise, it will go into effect.

New Satellite Market

While the Carter administration tries to figure out its policy on remote-sensing satellites—that is, whether and to what extent NASA should continue in the earth-resources-sensing business — Comsat General Corporation is well on the way to entering the field on its own.

The demand for such services is being

Speak German like a Diplomat!

What sort of people need to learn a foreign language as quickly and effectively as possible? Foreign Service personnel, that's who. Members of America's diplomatic corps are assigned to U.S. embassies abroad, where they must be able to converse fluently in every situation.

Now, you can learn to speak German just like these diplomatic personnel do—with the Foreign Service Institute's Programmed Introduction to German.

The U.S. Department of State has spent tens of thousands of dollars developing this course. It's by far the most effective way to learn German immediately.

The Programmed German Course consists of a series of tape cassettes and an accompanying textbook. You simply follow the spoken and written instructions, listening and repeating. The course begins entirely in English. But by its end, you'll find yourself learning and speaking entirely in German!

This course turns your cassette player into a "teaching machine." With its unique "programmed" learning method, you set your own pace—testing yourself, correcting errors, reinforcing accurate responses.

The FSI's Programmed German Course comes in two volumes. You may order one or both courses.

☐ Volume I, Basic.
9 cassettes, 13 hours and a 647-page text, $115

☐ Volume II, Advanced.
8 cassettes, 8½ hours and a 333-page text, $98.
(New York State residents add appropriate sales tax.)

Your cassettes are shipped to you in handsome library binders.

TO ORDER, JUST CLIP THIS AD and mail with your name and address, and a check or money order. Or, charge to your credit card (American Express, VISA, Master Charge, Diners Club) by enclosing card number, expiration date, and your signature.

The Foreign Service Institute's German course is unconditionally guaranteed. Try it for three weeks. If you're not convinced it's the fastest, easiest, most painless way to learn German, return it and we'll refund every penny you paid! Order today!

Audio Forum
Dept. 218
145 East 49th St.
New York, N.Y. 10017
(212) 753-1783

AUDIO-FORUM®

articulated by the Geosat Committee, a not-for-profit organization representing about 100 oil, gas, mining, and engineering companies. What they have in mind is a high-resolution, stereoscopic earth-sensing satellite system—something far more advanced than NASA's present Landsat satellites. "Most of the world has not been adequately mapped, geologically," noted Geosat's William Trollinger. "Without stereo, it is virtually impossible to produce even a rudimentary geologic map, because the third—vertical—dimension is missing."

Comsat is making detailed economic studies of the viability of the satellite and hopes to reach a go/no-go decision by next April. With all the billions of dollars that oil and gas companies are budgeting for exploration, Comsat's William Mayo thinks "it is a distinct possibility that industry may finance the entire project," rather than expecting the taxpayers to share in the cost.

Milestones

• *Bond Fraud.* The US Treasury is being sued by the Gray Panthers. The charge is fraudulent promotions. The subject? Savings Bonds. The group argues, in a petition filed with the FTC, that failure to disclose the impact of inflation makes the ads for Savings Bonds fraudulently misleading.

• *Quitting SS.* Alaska state employees have voted to withdraw from the Social Security system, effective January 1. They will choose from among five alternative retirement plans set up by the state government. "I think this signals to the federal government that there is a concern about taxation, and I wouldn't be surprised if this begins to happen nationwide," said Commissioner of Administration Bill Hudson.

• *Puncturing Air Bags.* For the second year in a row, the House has voted to ban the Transportation Department from spending any money to enforce its regulations mandating air bags in cars. The move is largely symbolic at this time, since the regulation requires air bags in large cars by 1982, mid-size cars by 1983, and compacts by 1984.

• *Shooting Down the IRS.* The Senate has voted 47-to-43 to forbid the IRS from spending any money to enforce its regulations that would remove the tax-exempt status of private schools for failing to meet certain racial quotas.

• *Freeing Conrail.* The government-supervised, nominally private Consolidated Rail Corporation (Conrail) says it can get off the federal dole—*if* Congress will only deregulate the railroad industry. Under deregulation Conrail would be able to lop off unprofitable branch lines or increase rates enough to cover its costs. But continuing to operate within the morass of ICC controls will continue Conrail's need for subsidies, according to Chairman Edward G. Jordan.

• *Plastic Ban Voided.* A 1977 Hawaii law that would have made it illegal to sell beverages in plastic containers was ruled "vague and unconstitutional" by a state circuit court. The law had been passed in the name of litter control.

• *College Defies Feds.* A second independent college has joined Hillsdale College in refusing to certify to HEW that it is in compliance with Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. Grove City College, which accepts no federal funds and does not discriminate against women, maintains that it is exempt from the law and has no intention of becoming involved with the federal government. When negotiations with HEW broke down, Grove City took the agency to federal court, seeking to have the law declared unconstitutional, as applied to a non-federally aided college. Hillsdale has already obtained such a ruling from an HEW administrative law judge—but HEW is appealing.

—Robert Poole, Jr.

Have You Seen...

REASON's story on the Sagebrush Rebellion?

December 1977 $1.25

Well before the national media discovered it, REASON had uncovered the simmering revolt over federal control of land in Nevada and other western states. Read Susan F. Mollison's on-the-scene report to understand the origins of this antigovernment movement. Also in the issue: an interview with Woody Jenkins, libertarian Democrat in Louisiana's legislature; Michael Emerling's first published discussion of the political cross-dressing technique for winning converts to liberty; and a special inside look at a Nathaniel Branden intensive. Plus Tibor Machan with his "Libertarian Pluralism" Viewpoint; and a Spotlight on Patricia Brennan, challenger to the postal monopoly in Rochester, N.Y.

Please send me _____ copies of the December 1977 issue of REASON. My check or money order for $_____ is enclosed. (Payment must accompany order.)

Name_____

Address_____

City/State/Zip_____

Mail to:
Back Issue Dept.
REASON Magazine
Box 40105
Santa Barbara, CA 93103

BRITAIN DOWN THE DRAIN?

BY ANTONY FLEW

The Future That Doesn't Work

By R. Emmett Tyrrell.
Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday. 1977.
208 pp. $6.95.

Britain: A Future That Works

By Bernard D. Nossiter.
Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1978.
275 pp. $9.95.

1985

By Anthony Burgess.
Boston: Little, Brown. 1978. 272 pp.
$8.95.

The Coming Confrontation: Will the Open Society Survive to 1989?

Edited by Ralph Harris and Anthony Seldon.
London: Institute for Economic Affairs.
1978. 250 pp. $8.50 paper.

Right Turn

Edited by Patrick Cormack.
London: Leo Cooper. 1978. 104 pp.
£3.95/£1.95.

"SOCIAL DEMOCRACY'S FAILURE IN Britain" is the subtitle of the first of these books. The aim of the editor—who is also editor of that lively conservative journal the *American Spectator*—is to present the post-World War II British experience as an object lesson. It is a most important and worthwhile aim. In an earlier and better period, one of the greatest of our prime ministers hoped that, when England had saved herself by her exertions, she might proceed to save others, too, by her example. In these days of our national decadence, the saving example has to be not an inspiration but a warning. It is as contributions to the fulfillment of Tyrrell's salutary and constructive aim that I shall review all five works.

The Future That Doesn't Work consists of ten contributions, including the editor's introduction; five contributors are Americans and five British. Most of this is pretty good stuff. Yet the fact that much of it had previously appeared in print elsewhere made it even more necessary than usual with such multiauthor books to shape at least the semblance of a team performance by strong, knowledgeable, and industrious editing.

Emmett Tyrrell here is instead feeble, perfunctory, and — at a guess — ill-informed. He does nothing to standardize usage of key terms nor, failing that, to diminish consequent confusion by indicating and annotating discrepancies. Where we need a substantial introduction to pull the various other contributions together and to fill the major gaps they happen to have left, all we get is a four-page fragment.

It is significant and typical, though in itself quite unimportant, that no explanation of the allusion in the title is provided anywhere. It is to a once notorious remark made with shining eyes by the veteran American radical Lincoln Steffens, on his return from a first pilgrimage to the USSR: "I have seen the future, and it works!"

SOCIALISM IN BRITAIN

What does matter is the failure to provide, and to stick with, clear and definite meanings for the terms *social democracy* and *socialism*. Tyrrell begins by saying that for him the fundamental tenet of social democracy is "that government must attend to every need of the citizenry." A

little later he throws in "the concepts that free enterprise is antediluvian, that profit is wicked, that achievers are exploiters, and that income—status, too, come to think of it—must be redistributed." But a page later he simply identifies social democracy with "British socialism."

This is an unpromising start, and nothing is done to sort things out when Patrick Cosgrave, in an excellent essay, "The Failure of the Conservative Party: 1945-1975," talks of "State socialism." What alternative sorts does he have in mind? Peter Jay in his powerfully argued "Englanditis" has nothing to say about social democracy. But he ends with a reference to "the 'socialist' alternative," as if the adoption of this by the Labour Party was just one future possibility. Finally, Irving Kristol, in "Socialism: Obituary for an Idea," takes that idea and ideal to be like life in an Israeli kibbutz. But then he also wants both to use the term *socialist* for the countries that are socialist in the established (and quite different) sense and at the same time to allow that really they are not.

The first essential is to insist that, at least in any discussion of the contemporary condition of Britain, the word *socialism* be defined as "the public ownership of all the means of production, distribution, and exchange." These are the original words of Clause IV of the constitution of the Labour Party, as first adopted in 1918. It is this clause, verbally but insubstantially amended in 1959, which is printed as the statement of aims on every party membership card. It is rather less well known that a similar clause is included in the constitution of the Trades Union Congress and in the constitutions of several of its largest constituent labor unions. This is the sense, therefore, in which *the Labour Party* is a socialist party, and it is in the same sense of *socialist* that one has to say that almost all the officials of the British labor unions, including those not formally affiliated with the Labour Party, are socialists of some stripe.

In this same and only proper British sense, the expressions *State socialism* and *State capitalism* are, respectively, tautological and self-contradictory. The second ought to be especially suspect and repugnant to libertarians, for it is forever being mouthed by socialists as a device for dismissing the unlovely realities of actual socialism as being somehow not the real thing.

Traditionally the members of the Labour Party have distinguished themselves as democratic socialists, meaning by this that they believe that their total socialist ideal both can and should be realized by democratic means rather than by revolution or coup d'état. The label "social democrat" has in recent years been reintroduced, mainly by outside commentators, to describe those members of and sympathizers with the Labour Party who are considered not to be wholeheartedly devoted to socialism in the Clause IV sense. The intended positive meaning is less determinate. But presumably it includes some commitment to more—ever more—State spending on and perhaps State monopoly in health, education, and welfare as well as more—ever more—progressive and redistributive taxation of wealth and income.

This reintroduction of the expression *social democrat* into British political dis-

Nossiter contrives to ignore Britain's savagely confiscatory rates of taxation.

Illustration by Rick Seward

course is confusing for those who remember the name of the original German party sponsored by Marx and Engels, to say nothing of the fact that it was the Bolshevik faction of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party that executed Lenin's coup in October 1917. On the other hand, we may recall that in 1959, the year when the British Labour Party reaffirmed an amended Clause IV, the present German Social Democratic Party categorically repudiated socialism, while asserting its own new-found belief in a pluralist and competitive economy. (This miraculous political conversion of the old German socialists was perhaps the greatest triumph of the low-tax, free-market policies of Ludwig Erhard!)

WHAT NOSSITER DOESN'T SAY

Bernard Nossiter is London correspondent of the *Washington Post*, and his *Britain: A Future That Works* is a calculated counterblast to Tyrrell's collection. He labors, therefore, to make out that the situation, and particularly the Labour Party and the trades unions, are not as bad as others have said—and as they are. Especially in chapter one he quotes, and ridicules, "voices of doom." That the economic performance is abysmal even Nossiter does not deny, though his readers are not told that, if we discount the free-enterprise bonanza of North Sea oil, since the elections of 1974 every index has gotten sharply worse. His own diagnosis: "Britons are choosing leisure over goods, a choice that other advanced industrial states may someday make."

If this were the truth, then surely the most insistent union demands would be for shorter hours rather than higher pay? Yet we should certainly still have to be alarmed by what Nossiter admits to be the fact, "that British factory workers are far less productive than those elsewhere in the industrial world." For if 50 million people are to live at any tolerable standard on a tiny island, they have to make and sell things overseas against competition from increasingly efficient foreigners.

What is scandalous in Nossiter's book is his seeming dismissal of critics of British socialism as inconsiderable members of "Britain's more extreme right-wing organizations." Since in British terms any opponent of socialism must be right-wing—"being right-wing" simply means "being opposed to socialism"—this amounts to putting down all opposition as such. Having thus in his own way silenced "the doomsayers" he is able unopposed to remain silent about, or even to deny, most of the fundamentals that must be grasped by anyone who wants to understand the present condition of Britain.

Nowhere does he find space to remark that the Labour Party was in its foundation, and to this day remains, a creature of the labor unions: between 85 and 90 percent of the votes at party conferences are cast, in the name of their mass membership, by union officials; and a similar proportion of all party funds comes, in one way or another, from the same union

sources. Nor does he notice that, in part as a consequence of the aforementioned fact of the structure of British politics, there is no other country in which the law leans so favorably toward labor unions. Their members acting as such are, for instance, free both to libel their employers and to break, or to conspire to induce others to break, any union-made contract.

Again, Nossiter contrives to ignore Britain's savagely confiscatory rates of taxation upon both income and capital, and how these crush effort and enterprise. His method here is to point out, superciliously, that Britain is roughly in line with other non-Communist industrial countries in the total percentage of national income extorted in taxes. What he should but does not say is that, at the time of writing, the top rate of tax on investment income—which is officially and disapprovingly labeled "unearned"—was, and is, 98 percent—yes, *98 percent*. For other income the figure is 83 percent. Furthermore, these and all other high rates start from thresholds that are by international standards very low. (In West Germany the maximum extraction rate from any income is 60 percent.)

The Burgess imagination is not extrapolating all that far from the nasty bullying British actualities.

Readers of Nossiter's repeated assurances that the leaders of the Labour Party never actually implement their "fitful rhetoric about socialism" need to be told some of the facts to the contrary. For instance, former Premier Callaghan's chancellor of the exchequer, at the party conference immediately before gaining office, promised a wildly applauding audience that the taxes which he would —and forthwith did—impose "would make the rich howl in agony." (Indeed that, rather than the raising of revenue, appears to have been the aim. Certainly these taxes have in fact proved not only economically repressive but even fiscally counterproductive.)

Again, every Labour election manifesto contains, and every Labour parliamentary majority enacts, further proposals for the extension of public ownership and State monopoly, while the party remains vehement and solid against all moves for reprivatization. Even the 1979 manifesto, which through fear of electoral disaster generally deemphasized socialism, featured proposals both to hand over local authority construction jobs to what are laughingly called public service workers, rather than to contract them out to the more efficient competing private firms, and to impose yet another confiscatory tax on capital.

FROM 1984 TO 1985

Anthony Burgess is a well-known novelist. His book is a curious combination. The first part is a long essay on George Orwell's last appalling nightmare, *1984*; in the second Burgess gives us his own post-Orwellian vision, *1985*. Where Orwell presented a tatty totalitarianism, an overwhelming propaganda machine, and all-pervasive police control, the Burgess Kakotopia is a Britain totally crushed by trades union power. His hero is a man whose wife was allowed to be burnt to death by striking firemen. Among the appealing fringe characters are dissident schoolchildren, in revolt against the rubbishy pseudo-sociology and "Workers' English" taught in the State schools; they learn Latin from underground anti-State teachers.

The Burgess imagination here is not extrapolating all that far from the nasty bullying British actualities, although I admit I have yet to see any signs of a revolt, from the classroom floor, against the radical educationalists. (These at their worst actually do demand that education be limited to "working-class values" and "working-class culture").

On the other hand, the critical essay with which Burgess prefaces his novelette is full of inaccuracies. He is, for instance, diametrically wrong in saying that "English Socialism now involves a minimum of public ownership"; he confuses L. P. Hartley's antiegalitarian novel *Facial Justice* with some completely different book; he twice mistakenly says that during the Spanish War Arthur Koestler was imprisoned by the Republicans rather than the Franquistas; and he misquotes the splendid proverb that should run: "Take what you like," said God, "take it; and pay for it!"

TOO LATE TO TURN?

The Coming Confrontation is a production of the Institute of Economic Affairs. This, as many readers of REASON will know—and all should—is a privately financed research and publications outfit headquartered a few blocks away from the houses of Parliament. Founded in 1957 "to analyze the working or nonworkings of markets," it last year celebrated its coming of age. In that lifetime it has produced a vast amount of work, much of it of more than local interest; and it has grown, from what was once seen as a handful of eccentric heretics from Keynesian and statist orthodoxies, into the recognized intellectual powerhouse of the true heirs and compatriots of Adam Smith.

Right Turn is a collection of essays by "eight men who changed their minds." Dedicated to Margaret Thatcher, it is edited by a Conservative member of Parliament. Though *Right Turn* is party-political, whereas *The Coming Confrontation*—coming as it does from a tax-exempt foundation—neither is nor could be, both are in their different ways concerned to discover whether it is not in Britain already too late to check and reverse the long, accelerating downhill slide.

It is the sinister transformation of the Labour Party that has led some of its members into Mrs. Thatcher's arms.

The greatest merit of the second is that it focuses on the recent transformation of both the Trades Union Congress (TUC) and the Labour Party. Contrary to what is so often asseverated by persons seeing themselves as political wiseacres, these organizations have within living memory always been, in the senses already explained, committed to total socialism, although over the years the urgency and intensity of that commitment has sometimes waxed and sometimes waned. But, in the period immediately following World War II, that commitment was combined—sincerely if not perhaps consistently—with the most absolute repudiation of Marxism-Leninism.

The London correspondents of the US media, recognizing the disavowal of Marxism-Leninism, saw it then as one of their most important functions to get the word around back home that the party of Attlee and Bevin could be relied upon to give wholehearted support to NATO and to every other move to hold back the thrusting imperial expansion of those who are in Beijing now so rightly excoriated as "the new Tsars." Since, roughly, the beginning of the '70s, all is changed. Yet the London correspondents continue in the ways of their fathers and, like Nos-

(*Continued on p. 57.*)

HOUSING PROTECTIONISM

BY JOHN McCLAUGHRY

How a privileged few are preventing average Americans from becoming homeowners

The Environmental Protection Hustle

By Bernard J. Frieden.
Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. 1979.
183 pp. $12.50.

VIEWED ONE WAY, BERNARD FRIEDEN'S *Environmental Protection Hustle* ranks with *The Best of the Marx Brothers* as an outrageous catalog of lunacy. Viewed another way, it is a compelling, fact-filled indictment of the antigrowth movement in America, made more telling by the author's almost superhuman self-discipline in restraining himself from exploding in outrage.

The meat of the book is a series of capsule histories of residential development projects in the San Francisco Bay area. Frieden has methodically compiled a chronicle of events from five sizable developments and presented the results in readable form. While easy to read, however, it is not particularly easy to digest, because—to continue this metaphor—the more one reads of this stuff the more likely one is to want to throw up.

In 1971 a firm named Challenge Developments decided to construct a planned residential development of 2,200 townhouses and condominium apartments on a 685-acre site in the foothills of Oakland, California. The plan was well within the existing land use plan of the city of Oakland. Still, the developer sweetened his proposal by agreeing to donate 480 of its 685 acres to the city for a regional park—a form of bribery and extortion roundly condemned in an earlier version by Pope Gregory VII 900 years ago. So induced, the city planning commission approved the project.

Then began what has become the inevitable litigation. A group called Citizens against Mountain Village sued the developer, claiming that it had not complied with the California Environmental Quality Act, a piece of legislation that has done more damage to home building in that state than anything since the last ice age and the San Andreas Fault.

The lawsuit was successful. The city council rescinded its approval. Finally, in desperation, the developer presented a revised plan for only 150-200 single-family homes, plus 100 estate lots ranging in size from 3 to 15 acres. The Sierra Club, having succeeded in transforming the original 2,183 units averaging $28,750 in price into less than 300 units averaging $60,000, dropped its opposition.

The epic of Harbor Bay Isle is even more outrageous. This landfill development on the east side of San Francisco Bay resulted in so much litigation that when it was finally settled, observes Frieden, "the San Francisco Bar Association

might well have considered declaring a day of mourning." The actors here were the developer-victim, the Alameda City Council, the Airport Land Use Commission, the Bay Conservation and Development Commission, and the Oakland Airport. The net result was that the projected 9,055 condominium apartments designed to sell for about $30,000 in 1972 became 3,170 single-family homes selling for an average of $65,000 in 1976.

ENDANGERED HOUSING

In the case of another major development, San Bruno Mountain, the end result was zero housing—the project was cancelled after 10 years of planning, replanning, appealing, litigation, harassment, and anguish. As the proposal stood at the time it was scrapped, an original 12,500 middle-income homes had shrunk to 2,235 upper-income homes.

A major factor in the process of obstruction in this case was the existence—alleged but never proven—of the "endangered San Francisco garter snake." There was also the problem of the "protected" red-legged frog—protected, it turned out, because California has general laws governing the taking of frogs. Finally, there was a weed called coast rock cress, which was not only common over wide areas of the state but had actually been reseeded on the parts of San Bruno Mountain planned for open space instead of housing.

The fourth major case study—of Blackhawk Ranch—is unique in illustrating how opposition from public bureaucrats can tilt the balance against a proposed development. In this case the planning staff of Contra Costa County systematically rejected all evidence that tended to support the argument for a 4,500-unit development on the slopes of Mt. Diablo. The main reason for this opposition appeared to be that the bureaucrats had recently completed a general plan for the county that did not provide for the proposed development, and approving it would have called into question the sanctity of the plan. The county planning staff achieved a pinnacle of creativity in discovering useful objections to the project.

For example, the planning commission shed hot tears for the Alameda striped racer, which, if it exists, is a snake. This valuable creature had not been located in the vicinity of the development, a fact offered as proof of its claim to rarity. The more rare a creature is, the more it is entitled to be protected, and a creature infinitely rare deserves infinite protection.

While the planning staff could produce no evidence that the protected American bald eagle had ever set foot upon the property, it was dutifully noted that there was a possibility that this splendid bird occasionally flew over the project area. All the more reason not to develop in haste—or not at all. (Blessed be the noble eagle that flyeth over the county planning office and unloadeth upon the occupants thereof!)

Frieden aptly summarizes the upshot of these and other case histories explored in the book. The environmental protection movement is simply at war with the idea of housing.

Outlying valleys should be spared from development because urban sprawl is energy-intensive and destructive of badly needed prime farmland (which produces the avocados and walnuts essential to fending off starvation in Bangladesh!). But hills should also be spared from development to preserve aesthetic vistas and prevent soil erosion. Oh, yes, no development on large tracts in the central city area—the urban public badly needs more open space. And forget about intensive in-fill housing—density leads to congestion, you know.

Those who benefit from socialism in education and other public services are now trying to make newcomers "pay their own way."

In short, the only housing development that the California environmental movement seems willing to allow is that which comes in small packages. The only reason even this is not the subject of attack seems to be that the resources of the environmental opposition can be better employed stopping the larger projects.

PRIVILEGED VS. POOR

Frieden has studied the rationalizations for environmental opposition to housing and finds them a confused and bewildering melange. What it seems to boil down to is that environmental activists are well-educated, upper-income, almost invariably white, property owners who have seized upon the supposedly public-spirited concern for the environment to protect themselves and their property from competition. They want open space. They want low tax rates. They want high property values. And they want working-class families kept out. They do not dare to expose this naked self-interest to public view, so they cast about for high-minded environmental and ecological rationalizations to protect their private interests.

Frieden has done an excellent job in condensing the case histories into modest length, in cataloguing the possibilities for obstruction made available by various laws, and in identifying the true motives of many of the opponents of housing and growth. He patiently dissects the slogans —like the need to preserve farmland or protect various obscure or loathsome fauna—and shows that they have little basis in reality. He recognizes the vice of fiscal zoning (preventing development that does not "pay its own way") and the serious adverse effects upon the poor of efforts by the privileged to defeat development.

What Frieden fails to do, however, is to explore the desirability of the laws and regulations that have socialized the costs of public services. If everybody's property were not assessed to finance the education of some people's children, for instance, the taxpayers would be deprived of a major argument against new development in their taxing jurisdiction. We have proclaimed socialism in education, in highways and streets, in police and fire protection, and in many other "public" services. Now those who benefit from this socialism are trying to make newcomers "pay their own way," which is another way of saying "socialism for the rich, free enterprise for the rest." Better we should have free enterprise for everybody.

Frieden's book, however, should not be faulted for declining to pursue that thought. As it stands, it is a careful description and a devastating indictment of the war of the privileged elite against the underprivileged many, who are unable to organize to fight for their interests. Those who read it carefully will be stimulated to seek the solutions that Frieden stops short of offering, and that in itself is a major contribution long overdue.

John McClaughry is the president of the Institute for Liberty and Community, in Concord, Vermont, and was recently a member of the National Commission on Neighborhoods.

CHALLENGING THE PUBLIC SCHOOL MONOPOLY

BY E.G.WEST

Are vouchers the answer to restoring choice to American education?

Parents, Teachers, and Children: The Prospects for Choice in American Education

By James S. Coleman et al.
San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies. 1977. 333 pp. $5.95 paper.

Education by Choice: The Case for Family Control

By John E. Coons and Stephen D. Sugarman.
Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1978. 249 pp. $10.95.

EDUCATION VOUCHERS ARE SUDDENLY back in vogue. Milton Friedman's simple idea that education tax monies should be spent by *parents* rather than the State was taken over by egalitarian liberals in the '60s, turned into a tool for social engineering, watered down to the point of unrecognizability by HEW (for a test that proved nothing), and then quietly dropped.

But throughout the '70s, something else was dropping—achievement test scores, as well as parents' faith in the monolithic public school system. Once more the idea of choice in education began to be heard, as exemplified in the two books reviewed here and, in California, in an attempt to qualify for the ballot a proposition instituting a voucher system devised by authors Coons and Sugarman.

According to the preface of *Parents, Teachers, and Children*, it attempts to take "the *narrow* subject of educational choice into the broader reaches of cultural pluralism and social trust" (emphasis added). For some of the 16 contributors, however, especially the economists, educational choice is clearly assumed to be the broad (important) subject while other issues are secondary. According to the dictionary, *to choose* means to take by preference out of *all* alternatives that are available. Choice cannot be substantially constrained, coerced, or predetermined, and remain choice. Yet the writer of the preface and several other contributors would have it both ways.

An interesting illustration is given in James Coleman's introduction. Since he considers choice a means to a social end, if it does not lead to the "right result" it should be constrained. The "right result" has to do with optimum social integration. If mechanisms such as busing will work to achieve integration they should be employed. In fact, busing failed for practical reasons—it cannot cope with white flight. So choice should now be allowed, for it will enable those who are "segregated against" to fight back.

Among other contributors who see choice as a means to a similar social end are Andrew M. Greeley: "Our Commitment to Integration"; Nathan Glazer: "Public Education and American Pluralism"; and Stephen D. Sugarman with John E. Coons: "Choice and Integration: A Model Statute." The latter, according

to the preface, shows how choice may be used "to encourage social policies to which society is committed without resorting to compulsion." At the center of the Coons/Sugarman plan, however, are government subsidies, based on taxes. And since taxes cannot usually be escaped, compulsion *is* resorted to. Further discussion of the Coons/Sugarman position will be postponed until the review of the second book.

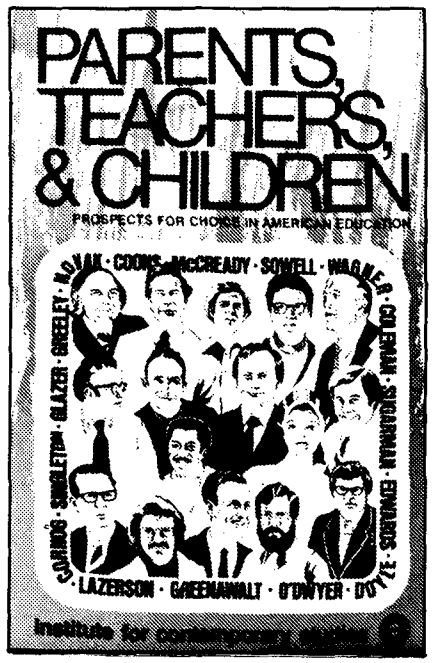
WHO'S TO CHOOSE?

Turning to other writers, William McCready leaves us in a state of suspense if not bewilderment with such conclusions as, "the issue becomes what kinds of choices and pluralism we are willing to permit." There is some missing dimension of argument, if not circularity, here. If "we" *permit* then it is "we" who do the *choosing*. The same obfuscation mars Michael Novak's "Social Trust," which ends with the mystical opinion that "unity in diversity is the highest possible attainment of a civilization," an attainment that is made possible "through passionate concern for choice in an atmosphere of generous social trust."

The most *entertaining* chapter is by John O'Dwyer. In relating his teaching experiences in a public school, he brings us back to earth by looking at the choices and responses of the kids themselves. "By day ten, a pencil *with* eraser is highly valued and a major source of social conflict." But there is a tragic side as well. Improvement in education is possible, O'Dwyer argues, but there is no incentive for it. "Teachers' pay scales are based on a formula which considers longevity of service and additional education rather than performance." The teacher who has most intimate knowledge of the child's educational needs typically has no influence. "The administration seems satisfied as long as you manage your class efficiently—turn in your register on time, maintain student files, attend meetings, keep the children quiet and annoyed parents appeased."

Yet, betraying some professional prejudice, O'Dwyer has similarly harsh things to say about family heads. Parents seem to relate to education with resignation. "School just happens to kids." It is this typical professional teacher's view —that parents cannot be trusted—that seems to be the worst enemy of voucher systems and ultimately of true choice in education. But O'Dwyer does acknowledge that "the administration does little to promote a more active parent role; the system tends towards inertia."

The most outspoken and moving essay,


PARENTS, TEACHERS, & CHILDREN
PROSPECTS FOR CHOICE IN AMERICAN EDUCATION
NOVAK · COONS · McCREADY · SOWELL · WAGNER · COLEMAN
GLAZER · GREELEY · SUGARMAN
SHANKER · EDWARDS · JENCKS
LAZERSON · GREENAWALT · O'DWYER · DOYLE

Keeping everything else constant, asked Friedman, could the system not achieve greater efficiency?

by E. Babette Edwards, is entitled, "Why a Harlem Parents Union?" The two main purposes of the union are explained to be: first, to challenge the widespread notion that home conditions are responsible for poor academic achievement; second, to help parent groups know about the public school system and survive in it. Although principals, teachers, and their unions decry lack of parental contact, any sustained involvement by enlightened parents is in fact viewed as a threat by school officials. The kind of involvement that they have in mind for parents "takes the form of participating in cake sales and other kinds of busy work designed to give parents the illusion of participation."

HISTORY LESSONS

Returning to the question of real choice versus constrained choice: there is much evidence that those writers who prefer the latter, or who are generally unsure, have been influenced by a particular version of history. James Coleman, for instance, seems to have accepted the bureaucratic "party line" that American public education was, from the start, a single system founded on a single "common school" to which children of all backgrounds were sent. Whether this was fact rather than the ideology underlying American development is very debatable, as is the view that before government education people could not practically provide it for themselves.

The chapter that challenges these notions most strongly (and is the liveliest of all) is that by Thomas Sowell. The belief that parents cannot be trusted, he argues, is obviously self-serving for the educational "experts" whose services are thus made to seem more needed. In fact, the empirical evidence does not bear them out. The half-million "free persons of color" in the United States before the Civil War, Sowell reminds us, were not subject to compulsory attendance laws and were, in most cases, not even permitted in the public schools or the private schools, often under penalty of law. Yet more than half of them were literate in 1850!

These facts alone strongly challenge Coleman's belief that the common schools were open to all, as does the fact of the parochial schools that handled vast numbers of immigrants. (While Coleman acknowledges these 19th-century alternatives, he dismisses them as "aberrations.") One important fact about early 19th-century history is that the common schools were not typically "free." Positive tuition everywhere gave parents much more choice in their selection of private schools; that is, they were not compelled to "pay twice" for their children's education when they chose a private school—as they must today. This feature alone explains the vast number of private school competitors with common schools in the period.

Sowell concludes that "the wholesale disasters of ghetto schools today are a product of modern fashions, promoted by the education 'experts' who expressed fears that *parents'* decisions would not be good for the children's education. Parents' decisions will certainly not be perfect; but if the alternative is not perfection but what the education establishment is likely to do, the parents have, by far, the better track record."

WHAT ABOUT VOUCHERS?

In "The Politics of Choice: A View from the Bridge," Denis Doyle chronicles the exact record of the attempts to launch voucher schemes in America down to the middle '70s. The crucial distinction between Friedman's and the later Jencks voucher system is elaborated. While Friedman's original plan was based solely on the liberty to choose, Jencks's version spliced on to it some

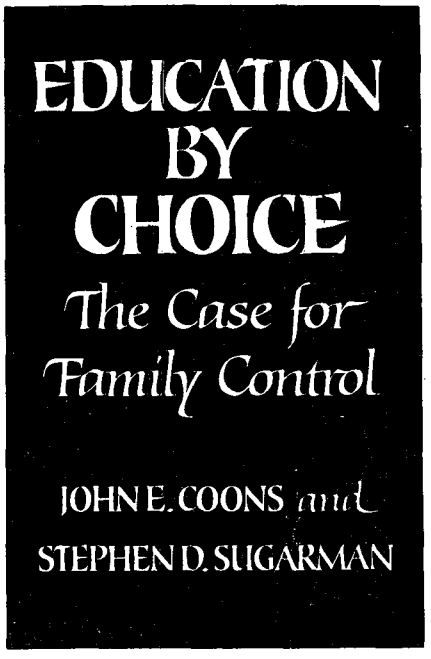
strong and complex conditions in the name of equality. The first vouchers that were attempted from the Office of Educational Opportunity were of the Jencks variety. In attempting to satisfy everyone, they in fact satisfied no one.

The fatal flaw in the voucher plans, Doyle explains, was their failure to anticipate the political obstacles. Nothing could be better calculated to trigger the defenses of the bureaucratic monopolists in public education than the implicit claim of the voucher system that the consumer had a better sense of his own self-interest than the provider. Eventually having to compromise, the OEO Voucher Office emasculated the whole voucher system. Selection among schools (including private or public) involves real choice, while selection among subjects within schools is a constrained choice; and the final versions of vouchers stressed the latter. Since a wider choice of "menu" could be offered within a reformed public system, claimed the public bureaucracy triumphantly, the need for choice between public and private becomes superfluous.

Economist Richard Wagner makes the important point that it is not necessary to argue that the parent knows more about education than its providers. The whole argument should be set in the agent-principal relationship. The fact is that, with full freedom to choose, the typical family would select information and guidance from agents. With public education, however, everybody has to accept the findings of a compulsory monopoly agent. Where Denis Doyle describes these aspects of vouchers—competition, accountability, rewarding success and punishing failure—as "the rhetoric of the market place," Wagner analyzes them in a much more sustained way and does far better justice to Friedman. He drives home his point about the inefficiencies of monopolies by envisioning a world where groceries are provided free "by experts" and available only at the local municipal store. Such a system damages all consumers, whether rich or poor.

This, in fact, is all that Friedman had in mind. Keeping everything else constant, could the system not go further and achieve greater *efficiency*? By this is meant simply greater educational output (effectiveness) per dollar unit of cost, an achievement that would benefit poor and minority families most of all.

Parents, Teachers, and Children is on the whole good value for money. It certainly contains variety and often considerable freshness. To many, it will be worth buying for the chapters by Sowell, Doyle, and Wagner alone.



Coons and Sugarman adopt a system that keeps most of the trappings of the existing bureaucracy.

THE CHILD'S INTEREST

With respect to the Coons and Sugarman book we are reminded that their previous volume, *Private Wealth and Public Education*, was instrumental in the decision of the California Supreme Court in *Serrano* v. *Priest*, which found local property-tax financing of public schools, because of geographical variations in property values, unconstitutional for violating equal protection of the law. Several state legislatures subsequently revised their school-aid formulae in attempts to achieve more geographic equality within their public education systems.

The book jacket of this new work describes Coons and Sugarman as turning their skills to the painful question facing the *next* generation of reformers: How can we allow ordinary parents to decide how their children are educated? Further announcement seems to promise one glorious "gallop" for family freedom, and much of the first part of the book indeed lives up to it in an exciting way. In the last part, however, we find two slightly winded horses trotting back into the same *Serrano* stable from whence they emerged, a stable bearing the notice: "State Engineered Equality—Fully Private Persons Keep Out."

After the interesting opening chapters on the intellectual history of choice in education, we reach the most eloquent Part 2 of the book, "The Best Interest of the Child." Whereas the public system purports to follow the child's best interest, the real objective, Coons and Sugarman argue, is usually the interest of the suppliers—the teachers and administrators.

In any case, there is seldom a consensus about what "the child's interest" is. Can the family be trusted to educate according to it? Compared with what or whom? The alternative is the State, advised by its army of experts. Yet "Each generation of American experts produces nostrums galore for the teaching of elementary skills and basic social behavior. But most quickly fall on evil days, and none has ever generated a true consensus even among educators."

SCHOOLS OF CHOICE

Choices on behalf of the child should, ideally, incorporate the young person's own choice within a decisionmaking community that is knowledgeable and concerned. In selecting the chief decisionmaking agent, one should respect the principle of "subsidiarity," which holds that responsibility for dependent individuals should belong to the smaller and more intimate rather than the larger and more anonymous communities to which the individual belongs.

Coons and Sugarman accordingly proceed to make strong claims for the family as the best candidate and, in robust legal style, the authors rebut an anticipated parade of arguments against their client. Will, for instance, the responsibility and affection of the family create anxieties that destroy their good judgment? Answer: "There is no evidence that such debilitation is widespread among families now choosing their children's doctor, or among the clientele of private schools. We would be surprised if the non-rich were peculiarly susceptible to this form of neurosis when selecting schools." After several such deliberations the authors conclude in favor of giving the family first choice and placing the burden on the State to demonstrate any educational failures.

The most philosophical, and perhaps the most persuasive, part of the book is Chapter 5, which argues that the main objective of education should be autonomy. This objective implies the full devel-

opment of the child's latent capacities for independent reflection and for judgment on issues of personal morality and social justice, and it is best conducted in the family environment of caring and affection—"Autonomy is not rescue from mother and father."

The public school system, however, which is a functioning monopoly, "cannot faithfully pursue the autonomy of its captive audience." And the present system cannot possibly be neutral, as bureaucracies have their own "agendas." Within these, high priority is given to a "civil religion" that includes the virtues of hard work, accumulation, marriage, small families, thin girls, aggressive boys, reverence for applied sciences, health through professional medicine and, above all, "belonging."

The *instrumental* use of children is common in the public system, for it seeks objectives distinct from pupil welfare. Different parts of the system, meanwhile, have conflicts among their own objectives. There are varying views, for instance, on integration. In any case, those who pursue integration vigorously are usually prompted by reasons other than a consensus concerning the child's interest. And this applies to integration by economic class as well as by race. Some districts have schools that take in all ranges of families, while others have rigid separations along economic and ethnic lines. There is no reason to expect that disintegration would be greater in schools of choice than in the present system of compulsory integration. Indeed, the authors argue (in Part 3) that racial, and presumably economic, segregation would *decline* with free choice.

LUKEWARM REFORM

And so Coons and Sugarman proceed to the practical aspects of reform. Any system of State-financed choice, they insist, must include private schools. "The public system needs the prod of good example, but there will be no prod unless there is an alternative." (Interestingly, J. S. Mill pushed the converse argument.) Teacher certification, union power, and bureaucracy are all most stoutly challenged.

But then we come to the last chapter, Chapter 11, where the "proper and practical design" of the voucher is discussed. It is here that the tension, if not contradiction, between liberty and egalitarianism stands fully revealed.

Coons and Sugarman are at pains to separate themselves from the Milton Friedman argument for vouchers, although they cannot deny that their contention that racial integration can best be achieved through "voucher choice" is straight from Friedman's earliest claims. What upsets them about the latter's precise proposals is that his vouchers would allow tuition add-ons. This feature, Coons and Sugarman argue, would encourage segregation by income class. "However much it improved their education, conscious government finance of economic segregation exceeds our tolerance." This statement is conspicuously at odds with the earlier arguments for "autonomy" and for the need to get away from the instrumental use of children's education. The authors now begin to use children as instruments for *their* particular goals. The criterion now is to avoid what *Coons and Sugarman* will not tolerate. What they *will* tolerate is government-planned egalitarianism.

In Coons and Sugarman's final chapter, the tension between liberty and egalitarianism stands fully revealed.

In this ultimate judgment Coons and Sugarman have to adopt a system that keeps most of the trappings of the existing bureaucracy and all its excessive cost overheads. Their complicated voucher scheme would indeed seem to invite even more bureaucracy. Their selected favorite is a scheme they call "The Quality Choice Model" (QCM). Participating schools would be allowed to charge whatever tuition they wished. Each family would pay a portion of its income toward the fees, while the State would finance the remainder with a subsidy based on family income. A middle-class family sending its child to a $1,200 school, for instance, might have to pay $800 (two-thirds of the full cost), the State providing only $400. A poor family that chose such a school would be given a much larger subsidy. The avowed purpose of the scheme is to prevent the rich from fleeing the public school system, which they allegedly would do under the Friedman voucher scheme with its allowed tuition add-ons.

Coons and Sugarman do not seem to appreciate that *their* scheme would do this, and probably in a stronger fashion. The main consideration today preventing most middle-class families from deserting the public system is what economists call the opportunity cost. Transferring a child from a public to a private school today involves the forgoing of the opportunity of a "free" government schooling worth, say, the same amount quoted in the previous example—$1,200. Under the QCM system the middle-class family's opportunity costs of transferring to the fully private (non-voucher-receiving) system would be drastically reduced to a mere $400 forgone (and even less for the rich).

Bearing in mind that schools in the fully private sector can educate at less cost because they don't bear the bureaucratic overheads (as the authors acknowledge), the temptation to patronize the latter and desert the former would, in all probability, be far greater than under the Friedman voucher system. Coons and Sugarman, in other words, would drastically lower the costs of entry to the fully private schools.

HEALTHY COMPETITION

It would be churlish, however, to dwell upon these (among other) inconsistencies in the economic arguments. There is much to be learned—especially in the earlier philosophical and legal arguments. In the future, all interested parties must meet the many challenges given here. And interestingly, the strongest of these is embedded in the more consistent part of the economics. Coons and Sugarman would abolish "free" education. In their world everybody has to buy education, as they buy groceries. "Even the desperately poor would be required to pay something, however, if only $10 towards a $1,000 tuition and $20 towards a $2,000 tuition, to establish a personal stake in the choice."

This is not quite so radical as it might seem. Even under the present system the poor will have to contribute to the future increases in education costs through the taxes that they, like everybody else, pay. They will have to contribute through their property tax or the accommodation rents they pay (which reflect property tax), and through the various other taxes that persons of all income groups contribute.

The virtue of obliging the users of the system to pay their taxes *directly*, in the form of tuition fees, is that it would, at last, promote some effective competition. Under the Coons and Sugarman plan, a family's decision to transfer a child from school A to school B will *automatically* cause money (the fee) to be transferred in the same direction. Nothing better can be calculated to clear the minds of the education suppliers and to restore at long

(*Continued on p. 56.*)

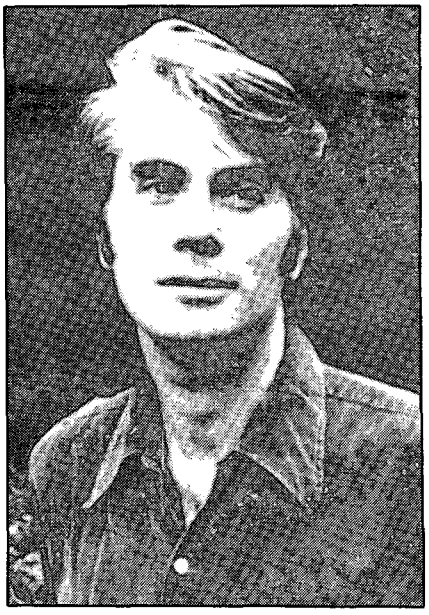
NOZICK UNDER FIRE

BY J. CHARLES KING

Anarchy, State, and Utopia introduced libertarianism to the academic world, but it's been a mixed blessing

THE PUBLICATION OF ROBERT NOZICK'S *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* in 1974 was the most important event in the recent history of the philosophy of liberty. Whether one agrees or disagrees with Nozick's particular arguments, one must grant that the great flood of attention that greeted his work established libertarianism as an option that could no longer be ignored by those interested in academic political philosophy.

It is hard to overestimate the shock value of Nozick's work within the ranks of professional moral and political philosophers. Nozick had already won, in spite of a very spare publication list, a reputation as one of the brightest young philosophers in the United States, and he taught (and teaches) at Harvard. Yet here he was, arguing the most outrageously unenlightened things. Taxation of wages is slave labor, indeed! As much as most academic philosophers hated reading such opinions, the fact that Nozick had published them in a book, the vivacity and wit of which few had the cheek to deny, made them, forthwith, legitimate positions to be considered in the academic debate. In this way Nozick gave a tremendous boost to all libertarians working in serious philosophy, including those who disagreed with many of his views and rather openly regarded him as a johnny-come-lately.



Robert Nozick

Nevertheless, it seems appropriate now, five years later, to consider the longer-range effect of *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* on the position of libertarianism in academic philosophy. An appropriate occasion for such a consideration is provided by the necessity of confronting recent issues of two respectable academic journals devoted primarily to Nozick and Nozickian issues. Unhappily, the task is much less entertaining than reading *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*.

The first number of the *Arizona Law Review* for 1977 (apparently the issue actually appeared in 1978) is given over entirely to a symposium on Nozick. *The Personalist* for October 1978 publishes a group of papers and replies from a conference on "Minimal Government" held at Drake University in November 1976 as the Fifth Plenary Conference of the American Section of the International Association for Philosophy of Law and Social Philosophy (AMINTAPHIL). Even though the topic of this conference was minimal government in general, Nozick is clearly predominant in many of the papers as the foremost recent proponent of such government.

I am sorry to have to report that, with the exception of a very few papers, reading these two journals was for me a grim and unrewarding task. Both volumes contain papers written by persons from several different disciplines, but on the whole, the essays are turgid, humorless, generally ill-written, and unremittingly uncharitable to Nozick's views.

Obviously, such a broad generalization risks condemning some writers unfairly, so I hasten to mention as an example a special island of relief in this murky sea. John Hospers's essay, "The Nature of the

State" (from the Drake University conference), is a crisp and clear indictment of the desperate devotion to State power so clearly evinced by most of his fellow conferees. While this paper contains little that will be new to libertarians, it is a compact and useful piece. It is particularly pleasant, after reading these volumes, to imagine Hospers saying these things to those assembled at Drake in the context of the other papers.

One other fine piece should be noted for its injection of humor into these dry collections. A note by two student authors is included in the Arizona volume under the title "Using Metaright Theory to Ascribe Kantian Rights to Animals within Nozick's Minimal State." If I understand it rightly, this note is a very good satire of Nozick's much-noted concern for the purported rights of animals. Perhaps it is a measure of what good satire this piece is that I still entertain a doubt that it is satire at all and harbor a fear that it just might have been intended to be read literally. If so, it is remarkably silly, but I prefer to view it as a very nice piece of satire.

While it may be good group therapy to appeal to what "we all believe," the philosophic benefit is minimal.

There are far too many essays included in these two issues for me to be able to consider them all individually here (nor, for that matter, would I wish to do so anywhere else). I shall, therefore, discuss four typical responses to *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* that I find well illustrated in these essays and shall use these responses as the basis for some further reflections on the present significance of Nozick's work for libertarian philosophy.

THE FUNDAMENTALISTS

One kind of response to Nozick that has been fairly common is the complaint from various students of politics that he somehow ignores political reality. I have heard and read such suggestions often. The Arizona volume contains a particularly pointed example of this approach in an essay entitled "How Not to Do Political Theory: Nozick's Apology for the Minimal State," by Lawrence A. Scaff of the Political Science Department at the University of Arizona.

Scaff says at one point that some might even say Nozick wants to rule out politics altogether, as though this were a charge, or somehow unthinkable. But, of course, that *is* what Nozick says. He writes in his preface that he should perhaps say that his views enable one to see through the political realm. It is as clear as can be that, to the extent that politics is understood as the attempt to gain and wield coercive power, Nozick rejects it. It is equally clear that Nozick has plenty of room for politics if it is conceived as the attempt to attain shared goals by noncoercive means. But to point out these simple facts is no argument either way.

To say, as Scaff does, that Nozick gives him an eerie feeling as if the clock had been turned back and Croly, Beard, Veblen, and Dewey had never written proves nothing at all. One point of Nozick's book is to challenge the received wisdom of such works. He is explicitly questioning the usual doctrines of authority. What good is it, then, to offer as an objection that Nozick has no room for an account of political legitimacy and obligation? Pious repetition of these myths is no argument in their defense. It begs the question as surely as does the fundamentalist who quotes scripture as a reason for the unbeliever to accept the authority of scripture. While this whole response to Nozick may seem too silly to merit the time I have spent on it, the sad fact remains that it is a very common response in the critical literature.

INDECENT RESPONSE

Another typical response to Nozick has a vaguely intuitionist flavor. Several writers I have seen have argued along the general line, "Nozick says that X is permissible, but we all believe principle P; and if P is true, then X is not permissible; therefore, Nozick is wrong." The crucial point here is the appeal to what "we all believe" or some analogue thereof. Naturally, such an argument is easy to construct against Nozick, since he has written specifically to challenge so many of the political beliefs prevalent among academics. But while it may be good group therapy to undertake such exercises, the philosophic benefit is minimal because, once again, the question is begged.

The Arizona volume contains an interesting article by Judith Jarvis Thomson of M.I.T. that is a particularly sophisticated instance of this approach to Nozick. Professor Thomson is a very able philosopher, and her article is carefully reasoned in most respects, although her prose is rather heavy in places. She undertakes to consider Nozick's claim that taxation for redistribution violates the rights of citizens. Her argument is too involved to summarize fully, but after the usual philosophical clarification of terms and claims she undertakes to show that there is a whole class of cases in which it is morally permissible to seize property in spite of the rights of its owners.

Her discussion hinges on an imagined case in which you are out of town but have locked in your box the only supply of a medicine needed to save a child's life. In the crucial case you are contacted but refuse your consent even though the box and medicine mean nothing special to you. Professor Thomson holds that in this case it is morally permissible for "us" to burglarize your box and seize the medicine. Her reason baldly stated is that "it is indecent for you to refuse consent."

This notion of indecency is employed again later in the essay in much the same way but is never explained further at all. In spite of all her technical care and skill, her argument comes down to her confident belief that a certain state of affairs is 'indecent." The inadequacy of this stares one in the face. There are simple, obvious ways to beg questions and complexly sophisticated ways to beg questions, but no matter how elaborate the background and paraphernalia, a begged question is begged all the same.

Some critics act as though they might be contaminated by the very exercise of considering Nozick's views.

It might seem that I am being too hard on Professor Thomson here, and by extension on others who have argued against Nozick in similar fashion, since Nozick assumes that individuals have roughly Lockean rights and does not provide a justification for this assumption. But Nozick makes this assumption very clear and thus begs no questions. Further, and more important, the rights Nozick assumes are not just pulled out of the air. The appeal to Lockean rights has had an honorable place in the American tradition from its beginnings. Even if the importance of such claims is debatable, the invitation to reason on the basis of such an assumption is, in the American context, reasonable and interesting.

But who knows about Professor Thomson's "indecency" and other such dodges,

(*Continued on p. 56.*)

THE POLITICAL ORDER OF A FREE PEOPLE

BY DOUGLAS J. DEN UYL

F.A. Hayek's prescriptions fall short of ensuring political freedom

Law, Legislation and Liberty. Vol. 3: The Political Order of a Free People

By F. A. Hayek.
Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1979. 244 pp. $14.00.

IT HAS TAKEN ROUGHLY FIVE YEARS FOR F. A. Hayek's eagerly awaited trilogy, *Law, Legislation and Liberty*, to be available to the public in completed form. In his final volume, Hayek takes up a time-honored issue: the appropriate form of government.

After a brief preface announcing some changes in terminology from the earlier volumes and apologizing for a certain "lack of system" and "unnecessary repetitions," Hayek plunges right into both a criticism and a defense of democracy. It is "the basic ideal of democracy"—associated with such values as personal liberty, the peaceful transfer of power, and laws supported by the majority—that he holds in high regard. But he wastes no time making clear that the interest-group democracy of contemporary Western societies is a "miscarriage of the democratic ideal."

It's not that we have failed to construct the machinery of democracy. Yet the products emanating from our current political mechanisms are generally laws and programs that (*a*) would not receive the support of the majority if given a chance to vote directly on the programs and (*b*) contradict one another. The enigmatic result is "majority government [that] does not produce what the majority wants."

How did we come to this pass? By supposing, says Hayek, that if only we have the machinery of democracy in place, no other limitations on government are necessary. But without such limitations, it is "inevitable" that conflicting interest groups will develop and utilize governmental power toward ever-more interventionist ends. There is nothing in "democratic" procedure to stop a group from proposing a measure favorable to only a small number of individuals, and then it is only a matter of time before other special interests are willing to support it in exchange for support of their own program. Thus begins the slide down a slippery slope toward total interest-group warfare.

A NEW GOVERNMENT

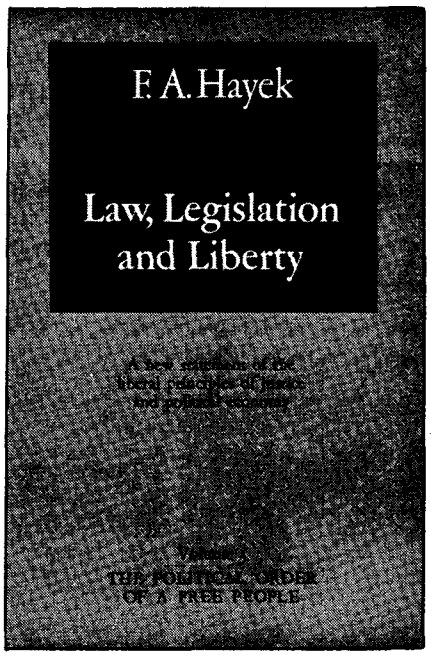
Hayek has an alternative, a proposed structure of government incorporating limitations to circumvent the pitfalls of democracy alone. As he brings his trilogy to a close, and building on the earlier volumes' work on principles of justice and political economy, he sets out a "model constitution."

His basic proposal is a simple and intriguing one. He suggests two distinct assemblies, differently composed. One, a legislative assembly, would represent the opinion of the people; the other, a governmental assembly, would represent the will of the people (where *will*, although it is not entirely clear, seems to mean "resolve" or "decision to implement").

Here, Hayek is drawing on a distinction made in an earlier chapter on the separation of powers within a democratic

State. Part of our problem, he maintains, is that we have entrusted one representative institution — "legislatures" — with two distinct tasks: legislating and governing, or the making of rules of conduct and the "administration of common means for public purposes." Whereas justice requires that laws be universally applicable and largely negative (see my reviews of Hayek's first two volumes in REASON, Nov. 1975 and Nov. 1977), effectiveness requires that decisions about the resources placed at government's command take into account particular interests and competing purposes. To confuse the two functions is, disastrously, to allow law making to become particularized.

The guts of Hayek's system is thus a constitution stipulating that freedom of individual action cannot be restrained except by the legislative assembly, which is itself bound to pass only universally acceptable rules of just conduct. Particular interests and special cases limited to specific instances cannot be considered by this body.



The same kinds of processes Hayek objects to in contemporary democracies would arise in this assembly as well.

WHAT DO THE PEOPLE WANT?

But what is the connection between this legislative assembly passing only universal rules and its supposed representation of the opinion of the people? In his first chapter, in criticizing "majority government [that] does not produce what the majority wants," Hayek seems to argue that general rules will ensure a "true majority." They will also have the advantage of giving the majority control over the market, because of the democratic nature of the market itself, when that market is not altered by special interferences. Hayek says that the majority will have this control despite the fact that "the concrete results [of the market] are in conflict with [the majority's] wishes."

But this raises the first doubt about whether Hayek's proposed system could accomplish what he wants it to. One begins to wonder whether there might not be an inevitable conflict between majority opinion and the rule of law. If the majority will not like the results of the market, is it not possible that the majority will come to dislike the cause of those results—universal and negative rules? Which, then, is more fundamental, the rule of law or the opinion of the people? Is the rule of law to be imposed despite the wishes of the majority? Or is it to be sacrificed to popular opinion?

I suspect, however, that these may be false alternatives for Hayek. As one reads volume three, one gets the impression that the rule of law just is the true wish of the majority and vice versa. Since there seems to be little empirical evidence to support the strong connection between the two, the only way I can understand Hayek's view is, following a suggestion of Professor John Gray's, to suppose that it is akin to Rousseau's notion of the general will. In other words, there is a kind of transcendental will of the majority that necessarily dictates universal and negative rules, despite any appearances to the contrary.

DEMOCRATIC ABUSES

Hayek states the heart of the issue about his proposal for dual assemblies when he admits that "the whole arrangement rests on the possibility of drawing a sharp distinction between enforceable rules of just conduct... and the conduct of government power." But this distinction is open to question. It is one thing to *assert* that there must be a distinction and another to *argue* about how it would be maintained.

There are certainly reasons to believe that even if the legislative assembly would stick to passing the kinds of rules Hayek desires, the governmental assembly might interpret those rules in many perverse ways (and even have court support for those interpretations). One need only look to the many perversions of the US Constitution to see the possibility of this. And since Hayek gives total decisionmaking power on concrete matters to the governmental assembly, I suspect that the real power would move in that direction, such that the legislative assembly would turn into a body passing ever more abstract, formal, and thus contentless law.

On a more fundamental level, however, the fact that group and party interests would be played off against one another in the governmental assembly means that the same kinds of processes Hayek objects to in contemporary democracies would arise in this assembly as well. Hayek cannot argue that those abuses would be precluded by the type of laws emanating from the legislative assembly, for if the day-to-day application of those laws were an unproblematic issue, there would be no need for the governmental assembly at all—it could be replaced by an executive arm of the legislative assembly.

And in fact, one finds that Hayek explicitly allows for numerous governmental activities that would seem inevitably to lead to those abuses. He devotes a chapter on the public and private sectors to indicating "the wide range" of activities which, "as the administrator of common resources, government may legitimately undertake"—broadly, any activity that "cannot be met better in other ways." As long as competition with the government is left open, there is nothing in principle that may not involve the government. More specifically, he argues for public or governmental involvement in at least the following: correcting neighborhood effects such as air and water pollution (p. 43), support of the arts (p. 49), restricting immigration (p. 56), education (p. 61), licensing and certification (p. 62), eminent domain (p. 63), conscription (p. 111), and regulation of safety, health, production, and construction (p. 115).

ENTER PRAGMATISM

In most cases Hayek does not demand governmental *administration* of all such programs. He more often prefers public financing with some other "nongovernmental" group doing the administrative work. And where the government is to manage a program directly, he would

prefer management on a local level. Apart from whether any real advance is made by having local or nongovernmental groups manage publicly supported projects, it seems that Hayek falls prey to Ludwig von Mises's argument about acts of intervention requiring further interventions to correct the consequences of the first intervention.

Consider Hayek's argument for restrictive immigration: because wealthy countries will guarantee a minimum standard of living (first intervention), which is likely to attract members of poorer surrounding nations and thus increase the welfare rolls (consequence), we must, to avoid the swelling of the welfare rolls, restrict immigration (needed intervention). But, of course, to restrict immigration means more police, a lack of people to do the work immigrants are willing to do, the removal of illegal aliens now in employment, etc. These measures will in turn cause other problems (for example, higher prices for farm products), which would also have to be corrected. And so on down the road to unlimited government.

Unless people's attitudes and moral values changed, Hayek's proposals would not be successful.

Perhaps the most problematic feature of this discussion of Hayek's is his allowing for "collective goods" that are peculiar to *particular* regions (thus producing a tension with his requirement of universalism) and his claim that "it will clearly be in the interest of the different individuals to agree [to] compulsory levying of means to be used also for purposes for which they do not care so long as others are similarly made to contribute to ends which they desire but the others do not." Hayek asks us to look at this procedure as an "exchange" process.

If this kind of arrangement does not set the stage for interest-group warfare over "collective goods," then nothing will. Moreover, since "collective goods" can be localized, and since what the market can do more effectively than the State may be perceived in different ways by different people, Hayek has opened the door for almost anything to be a "collective good." It is only a short step from here to saying that universal rules are themselves suspect, because they do not recognize the different needs of different communities, and thus that these universal rules ought to be replaced by more "pragmatic" policies.

THE REAL CULPRIT

Is it not because people have come to see the State as the instrument for parceling out goodies, rather than that the two functions he advocates have not been kept distinct, that we face the problems we do? This points up the chief defect in Hayek's theoretical approach: the supposition that the structure of the system is all that matters. In this respect, he is subject to the same accusation he levels against those who believe that constructing democratic machinery is enough to ensure that the system's output will conform to majority opinion.

This confidence in the structure of the system underlies Hayek's contention that, with his arrangement, we would not need a bill of rights, because no right is immune from limitation by general rules of law and also because the traditional list of rights does not include the only ones necessary to limit arbitrary power. We have a bill of rights, however, not only to limit power but to exhibit the basic ideals of the republic. To suppose that it is sufficient just to limit the legislature to a type of legislative enactment is to suppose that concretely stated ideals serve no purpose in orienting people toward a liberal order. Without a statement of basic rights, there may develop a lack of understanding about the *type* of political order in which we live. The upshot might be a failure to appreciate the very purpose of rules of just conduct.

Even if Hayek's proposals were instituted tomorrow, any real improvement would be unlikely, since human beings are ingenious at getting around legal or institutional obstacles placed in their way. Unless people's attitudes and moral values changed, Hayek's proposals would be no more successful than any other restructuring of institutions. And it is the refusal throughout the three volumes to take seriously the moral issues that leads eventually to the belief that the real culprit in political life today is merely the structural arrangement of our institutions.

In a sense Hayek recognizes some of the truth of this criticism when he talks in his last chapter about the abuses and changes of language with respect to such terms as *democracy* and *justice*. Although this is not a discussion of moral outlooks, it is a recognition of the fact that how words are used will affect the way people perceive events and institutions.

NUGGETS OF WISDOM

Hayek's third volume is not without its insights. In his chapter on government and the economy he is at his best, focusing his attention on the role of competition in a market economy. For example, Hayek argues that rational behavior is not a premise of economics. Rather, competition makes it necessary for people to act rationally in order to maintain themselves—that is, since rational behavior confers benefits, rational methods will "progressively be developed and be spread by imitation." It might be said that rationality is discovered—not presupposed—by a market order.

Another example is Hayek's pointing out the destructiveness of the ideal of having all social groups organized. The belief that the defects of the democratic system will be remedied when every group is represented is really an attempt to freeze a given social structure in the face of changing conditions. To complete the organization of all groups would simply create a deadlock between them, which "only the force of some dictatorial power could break."

Hayek is at his best when he focuses his attention on the role of competition in a market economy.

Nevertheless, the original insights are few and far between in this book, and the argument, when there is argument and not mere statement, is often confusing. It is not up to the standards one would expect from Hayek. The work should be purchased to complete the three-volume set and for the insights one does find. Also, the chance to gain some idea about Hayek's institutional programs makes a purchase of this volume worthwhile. But if you do plan to purchase it, do so with lowered expectations. ◻

Douglas Den Uyl recently achieved his doctorate in philosophy from Marquette University. He has published in various journals and REASON and is coeditor of a forthcoming collection of essays on Ayn Rand's thought.

RESURRECTING RIGHTS

BY JEFFREY PAUL

Alan Gewirth attempts to give moral and political principles objective grounding

Reason and Morality

By Alan Gewirth.
Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
1978. 393 pp. $20.00.

THIS IS A DECIDEDLY UNFASHIONABLE book. For it eschews virtually every dominant trend in 20th-century Anglo-American normative philosophy. It proclaims the objectivity of ethical values in an age chiefly distinguished by relativism. It traces the source of those values to certain invariant features of human nature —blasphemy to the contemporary theoretician. Its politics are absolutist; human beings have certain demonstrable rights that are implied by their nature and that no majority or elite may overturn. Add to these delightful and unexpected qualities the systematic and synthetic powers associated with an older tradition in professional philosophy, and you have a work of magisterial importance.

To be sure, there have recently been certain signs of discontent with prevailing views in moral and political philosophy, and the additions to the axiological landscape contributed by Alan Gewirth in his new work have to some extent been anticipated. To name the most prominent precursors:

• John Rawls, in *A Theory of Justice*, argued that political principles are not *arbitrary* human conventions but are conventions that could command unanimous assent from suitable rational and unbiased observers. But he left unanswered the question, Are these hypothetically adopted conventions, in fact, just?

• Robert Nozick, in *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*, maintained that human beings have prelegal rights to which every juridical code and convention ought to conform. But he didn't present an argument for these rights.

• Ronald Dworkin, in *Taking Rights Seriously*, contended that the legal process recognizes that there are permanent, inflexible human rights. But he omitted a demonstration of the soundness of that working principle.

Clearly, there has been some movement away from the doctrinal biases of the moral and political relativists; but it has not been decisive, until now.

Moral principles must be anchored in certain unalterable facts about the world.

ETHICAL TRUTHS

Alan Gewirth has correctly grasped that if moral and political principles are to have an authority that can command universal assent on rational grounds, all vestiges of subjectivity in their derivation must be rooted out. Moral principles must be anchored in certain unalterable facts about the world, so that their truth can be as unquestioned as their empirical warrant.

In this aspiration, Gewirth runs afoul of a central dogma of modern moral and political philosophy, which maintains that values can never be inferred from facts. The author of this doctrine, the

18th-century Scottish philosopher David Hume, held that any collection of facts, no matter how complete, can convey only how it is that human beings in fact do behave, not how they ought to behave. Gewirth's work is written to overturn this thesis.

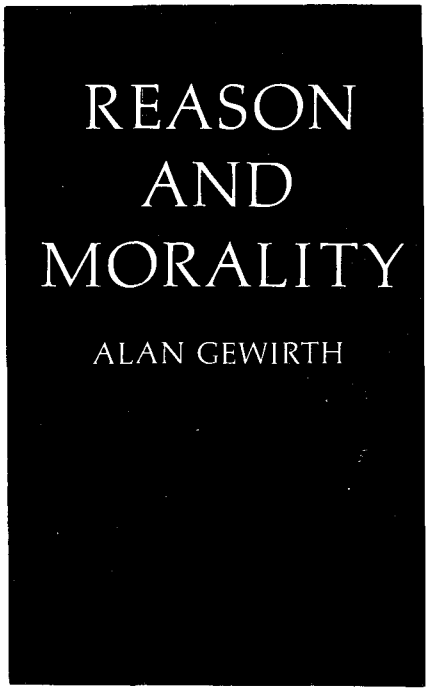
Gewirth claims that the subject matter of ethical principles, human action, is the very source of their verifiability. For human action embodies certain determinant characteristics that prescribe for individuals how to conduct their affairs appropriately. Every human actor, says Gewirth, obviously aspires to the various objectives of his actions. And in so aspiring he implicitly claims a right to what is required in order to realize those objectives. These requirements consist of the freedom and well-being of the actor, both of which are essential features of all action. But if each actor implicitly claims a right to these, because they constitute the generic conditions of action, then he must extend this claim to all of his fellow actors. And this proves, says Gewirth, that rights are universally held by mankind.

From this conclusion, Gewirth derives what he takes to be the regnant principle of all morality, the Principle of Generic Consistency (PGC). This principle instructs all moral agents to "act in accord with" others' as well as one's own generic rights. Since these rights are absolute and definite, they are prescriptive for every sector of human conduct, private, social, and political. Gewirth elucidates their various applications in the last half of his book.

THE MEANING OF RIGHTS

Personal virtue, for Gewirth, consists in the development of characteristics that will enhance one's effectiveness in purpose fulfillment: courage, temperance, and prudence. In regard to social conduct, Gewirth concludes that a series of duties are implied by the PGC. First, there is the negative obligation of noninterference with others' individual freedom and well-being. Second, there are positive duties to aid others whose freedom and well-being are threatened or deficient, where one is able to do so without incurring the risk of significant harm to oneself.

These two types of duties, in turn, have implications for the kind of political arrangements Gewirth endorses. While he at first argues for a minimal State that would protect civil and other liberties, he ultimately supports a State with redistributive and regulatory powers far more extensive than those necessary to defend



He ultimately supports a State with powers far more extensive than those necessary to defend freedom.

freedom. These powers, according to Gewirth, are granted for the purpose of a more equitable distribution of the conditions of well-being.

Believing that the rights that he has derived are inalienable and are, therefore, not produced by, but antedate democratic processes, Gewirth argues for a constitution that specifies their inviolability. The protection of these rights, but not their existence, he would leave to legislation. In this respect Gewirth's views are virtually identical with those of natural-law theorists who subscribe to a moral law of natural origins that regulates all human codes and institutions.

The book also contains incisive analyses of a wide variety of moral-political issues, traditional and contemporary. With respect to nonhuman entities, for example, Gewirth indicates that these acquire rights precisely to the extent that their behavior is informed by volition and purpose. Thus, animals and fetuses have rights, albeit very limited ones. If these rights conflict with those of an adult normal human being, the latter, whose capacities for purposive and voluntary action are far greater, take precedence.

CONFUSING RIGHTS

While meticulously argued, Gewirth's position is not without problems. The implicit rights claim made by all agents is just that—a claim. Gewirth's argument, then, appears only to establish what rights people implicitly *claim*, not what rights they in fact *have*. It is the latter that Gewirth obviously wishes to defend, but without that defense, he does not establish that people *ought* to recognize others' rights/rights claims.

Although Gewirth defends property rights, he never precisely defines them nor describes the process by which one acquires title to property. Yet this is particularly important because these rights directly conflict with the redistributive function of his State.

Gewirth defends redistribution as the appropriate means to protect the right to well-being. Yet, perhaps revealingly, he omits this right from the constitutional framework that guarantees all prelegal rights, thereby leaving to democratic discretion its protection.

And there is something indeed peculiar about this right to well-being when contrasted with the right to freedom. A violation of the latter is univocal; a murder 2,000 years ago is an injustice equivalent to a murder today. Rights to well-being, however, which imply positive duties on some others' part and hence imply the redistributive function of the State, may vary according to technological and other circumstances. Dying from smallpox in the 15th century would have been a morally neutral occurrence, whereas today, from Gewirth's perspective, it would involve a rights violation on the part of those who have the vaccine.

It is certainly odd that the defender of the incorrigibility of rights should sanction their multiplication and variability when they involve claims to well-being. Moreover, Gewirth confuses the right to the substantive means of well-being with its more fundamental predecessor, the right to the freedom to create such means. How can he fail to realize that an enforcement of the former will *inevitably* involve violations of the latter?

Despite these flaws, the philosophical significance of Gewirth's work in this age of moral skepticism and relativism is not to be written off. For it signals a rebirth of the natural rights-natural law tradition in secular garb and a renewed effort to close the gap between the previously divided realms of fact and value.

Jeffrey Paul is a professor of philosophy at Northern Kentucky University. He is the editor of a forthcoming collection, Reading Nozick.

SCIENCE FICTION COMES OF AGE

BY JOHN J. PIERCE

SCIENCE FICTION IS IN THE MIDST OF A boom just now. And it isn't only because of blockbuster movies like *Star Wars* and *Alien*, although they have certainly helped. (On the other hand, *Battlestar Galactica* and its ilk have had just the opposite effect.)

It was once fashionable to talk about the sf "ghetto," from which any writer with literary talent—or, at any rate, literary pretensions—longed to escape. Nowadays the "ghetto" constitutes the largest part of the paperback market, and Robert A. Heinlein has just been paid a record $500,000 advance for his latest novel.

People are more receptive even to hard-core sf. Time was, only watered down, formularized books by outsiders, like Michael Crichton's *The Andromeda Strain*, attracted much attention. But in the last couple of years, Larry Niven and Jerry Pournelle have seen their *Lucifer's Hammer* become a million-copy seller. True, they aimed at the bestseller market —but they didn't compromise to do it.

And there is more to the success of science fiction in recent years than increased popularity. It's trite to say, of course, but sf is not only bigger but *better*. There appears to be a greater maturity in the genre—not merely the flashy use of new (or not so new, and borrowed) literary techniques that characterized the 1960s, but a greater appreciation of the inherent *potential* of science fiction.

JOHN VARLEY

One of the new writers who seems to typify the new science fiction is John Varley (two of whose stories were nominated for a Hugo award this past year). His *The Persistence of Vision* (Dial, 1978; now available in paperback) may be the most significant single-author collection of the decade.

Most of Varley's stories, although not all, are set in a common future bizarre enough to satisfy the most hard-core fans: a solar system in which aliens—who identify with beleaguered whales and dolphins—have dispossessed mankind of its home planet and left humanity to survive in artificial environments on other planets and satellites. But that is only the background; Varley's real interest is in creating new kinds of *societies*. Routine use of cloning, organ transplants, and sex changes has transformed human society —and customs and morals—practically beyond recognition. Yet Varley is able to make his readers see it all from the point of view of those who actually *live* in this future, to whom, naturally, it seems perfectly "normal."

"Retrograde Summer," for example, is the story of a teenager on Mercury who discovers his "mother" is really his "father." The sex change doesn't faze him at all. What *shocks* him is that he should be raised by his father at all in a culture where fatherhood is no longer even a legally recognized concept and the idea of the nuclear family as we know it seems obscene.

The story itself is anything *but* shocking, for it simply takes the customs and mores of its imagined society for granted. The relationship between the teenager and the visiting clone sister he never knew he had, and who eventually reveals the tangled "family" relationship, is as warm and tender as, say, the *best* episodes of "The Waltons" or "Little House on the Prairie."

"The Persistence of Vision" itself (title story of the collection and winner of a 1979 Hugo award) is not part of Varley's future history but takes on an equally difficult task. Countercultural movements and communes, with all their talk of "love," have become clichés. But in his depiction of a commune established by deaf and blind people in the New Mexico desert, and of the elaborate culture they invent for themselves, Varley is absolutely convincing. He makes the reader believe (along with his protagonist) that it could even be desirable.

This same sense of everyday reality and conviction underlies all of Varley's fiction—"The Phantom of Kansas," in which somebody keeps trying to murder an environmental artist (she creates carefully programmed storms), and the culprit turns out to be her illegally cloned male counterpart; "Gotta Sing, Gotta Dance," in which men and women in symbiosis with alien organisms create a

new art form while living in Saturn's rings; and even "The Black Hole Passes" (the title is a play on that of an old John W. Campbell story), in which boy meets girl while working on the fringes of the system, disaster strikes and—switch—girl rescues boy.

Varley's latest book is *Titan*, which harks back to Larry Niven's *Ringworld* in a way: only this time the huge artificial world is *alive*. Not quite as serious as the stories in *The Persistence of Vision*, and with too many in-jokes, perhaps, but still an entertaining romp and more sophisticated than what used to be written in sf as pure "entertainment."

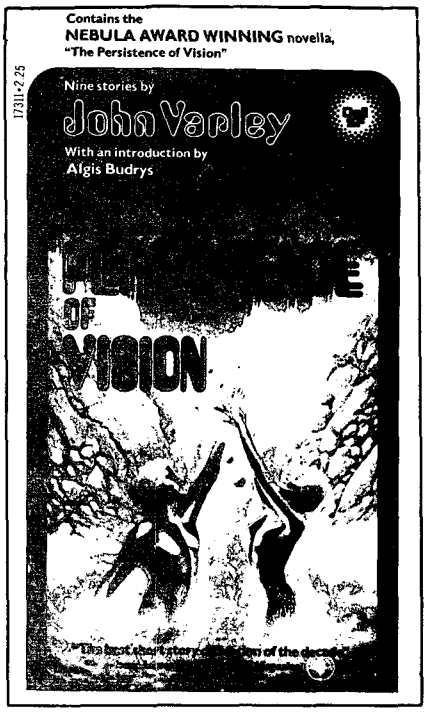
C. J. CHERRYH

Another author to watch in contemporary sf is C. J. Cherryh (her full name is Carolyn Janice, but she avoids using it because she doesn't want to bother explaining that her middle name is pronounced Jan-*ees*, not *Jan*-ice). So far, she has seven novels to her credit (she hasn't written a bad one yet) as well as several short stories.

A student of language and culture (on which she can talk informatively for hours at a time, without let-up), she brings to science fiction a sense of depth and complex reality in her creation of alien (although usually humanoid) cultures. Just as important is the angle of vision in her novels: it was long common in sf for human protagonists to encounter the aliens and to see them through human eyes. Cherryh's protagonists are usually the nonhumans—and it is *we* who are the "aliens," inscrutable and even menacing. Reading a Cherryh novel can be a real workout: in *Hunter of Worlds* (1977), for example, there are *three* alien species, each with its own language expressing shades of meaning and concepts foreign to humanity.

Cherryh's most recent science fiction novels, *The Faded Sun: Kesrith* (Daw, 1978) and *The Faded Sun: Shonjir* (Daw, 1979) are part of a trilogy (the third book has not appeared as of this writing) set against the background of a conflict among humans and two alien species—the *regul*; and their mercenary warriors, the *mri*. Typically, most of what happens is seen from the viewpoint of Niun, one of the *mri*, whose species faces extinction after being betrayed by its *regul* paymasters.

All is not as simple as it seems from a brief description of the situation. The *regul*, for example, have a psychology peculiar in the extreme: their memories are eidetic (photographic), and they have no subconscious—not only do they never forget anything, but they are virtually incapable of lying. And, for that matter, of creating or inventing.



Varley is able to make his readers see it all from the point of view of those who actually live in this bizarre future.

Regul social structure is equally peculiar. In the adult form, the *regul* are sessile (nonmobile) beings, who have to be constantly attended by younglings—otherwise considered of little value. There are clans of a sort, and political rivalries; but they have an entirely different biological basis from our own.

As for the *mri*, fighting is not only their way of life but (seemingly) part of their genetic heritage; it is hinted that perhaps they are actually *parasites* on other species in the biological sense. Although very humanlike in appearance (as contrasted to the gross *regul*), their physiology betrays subtle adaptations to the environment of their original homeworld. And their culture and clan structure is one decidedly alien: even sexual reproduction is impossible save in a carefully defined social relationship involving the *she'pan*, a sort of clan mother.

At the heart of the continuing story of *The Faded Sun* trilogy is the developing relationship between Niun and Sten Duncan, a Terran diplomatic aide who is determined to try to understand—and even help—the *mri*, regardless of the indifference and hostility of the *regul* and his own superiors. This sort of psychological drama is one of the trademarks of Cherryh's sf but is especially compelling in *The Faded Sun* series—in the second book, it even borders on the tragic.

Cherryh's science fantasy adventure series, which began with her very first novel, *Gate of Ivrel* (1976) and continued with *Well of Shiuan* (1978), concluded this year with *Fires of Azeroth* (from Daw, like all of her books). Morgaine, the demonic heroine of the series, is engaged in a quest to close all the "gates" between worlds, works of an ancient race that had disrupted the fabric of space and time by establishing them. In her ruthless dedication to her quest, she has no interest in what happens to the *people* in the worlds she encounters along the way, who are only means to an end. Nhi Vanye, a native of one such world who unwittingly becomes honor-bound to her, faces a continuing struggle between honor and conscience as he attempts to influence her course.

TIPTREE/SHELDON

Science fiction's new golden age has turned out to be even more the work of women writers than had been known, with the revelation of James Tiptree, Jr.'s identity. Tiptree, already a Hugo winner with two short-story collections to "his" credit, had been the subject of a number of scholarly articles and even personal interviews. One of "his" admirers, Robert Silverberg, had even written an introduction to "his" second collection, praising the "masculine" qualities of Tiptree's writing. Last year the word got out: "Tiptree" is a research psychologist named Alice Sheldon, who had also just begun to sell stories as "Raccoona Sheldon" (when some of those were rejected, letters of endorsement from "Tiptree" finally won acceptances for them).

Her first novel, *Up the Walls of the World* (Berkley, Putnam's, 1979) was, like Cherryh's first *Faded Sun* novel, nominated for a Hugo this year. Although not as startlingly inventive as some of her short fiction, it is still a rich work. *Up the Walls of the World* brings together (1) the unwilling participants in a CIA-sponsored study of paranormal powers, (2) the alien inhabitants of a gas giant planet who live out their lives in a natural environment of raging winds and can't imagine how anything could live on the *ground* of a planet in *stillness*, and (3) an intruding cosmic Mad Mind (a rather Stapledonian concept) bent on destroying

life on every world it encounters. Tiptree creates a drama of moral and psychological conflict on several levels as the aliens debate the morality of saving their own lives by taking over the bodies of Earthmen, and both species find themselves engaged in a seemingly hopeless struggle to influence the Mad Mind.

VONDA N. McINTYRE

On a more low-key level is yet another Hugo winner, Vonda N. McIntyre's *Dreamsnake* (Houghton Mifflin, 1978), which also won a Nebula from the Science Fiction Writers of America (the Hugos are voted by fans). Set in a post-holocaust future of "primitive" yet generally benevolent cultures, it is the story of a Healer who uses mutated poisonous snakes (which can manufacture serums and vaccines) in her work—but loses her dreamsnake, which brings comfort to the dying, and has to set out to find a new one.

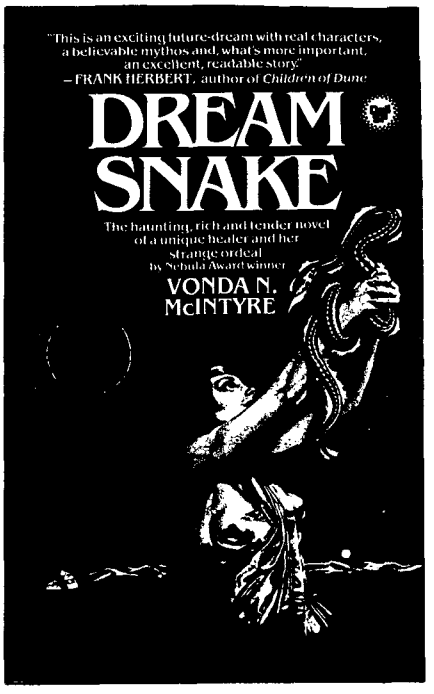
McIntyre's world and its peoples unfold gradually; at first, there seems nothing particularly remarkable about them apart from the "gimmick" of snakes being used in medical treatment, but it later becomes clear that there has been a subtle yet far-reaching change in human psychology and culture. The most basic changes—in sexual roles and relations—are certainly part of McIntyre's own philosophy, but she never gets preachy about them, and the story line is never artificial or contrived.

MARION ZIMMER BRADLEY

The newer writers in science fiction have been generating a good deal of excitement, but even the older ones have been producing a lot of surprises. Marion Zimmer Bradley was known in the late 1950s and the '60s as a writer of interplanetary adventure novels that were published as parts of Ace Doubles—a cheap line of paperbacks with an equally cheap reputation.

Most of her "novels" (some of which were hardly long enough to qualify as such) had as their setting the world of Darkover, where "psi" powers had been developed to a high art and where conflict had emerged between the native culture and that of a Terran federation that had rediscovered and was attempting to dominate the long-lost human colony. The conflict was generally handled on an entertaining but seemingly routine action-adventure level.

But since founding Daw, former Ace editor Donald A. Wollheim has turned Bradley loose to do what she really wants: long, complex novels like *The Heritage of Hastur* (1975) and *The Shattered Chain* (1976) that deal with "touchy" subjects like homosexuality and radical feminism—but still in the context of her invented world of Darkover, which has taken on a richness and depth that was never evident in the Ace Double novels (one of which, *The Bloody Sun*, originally 1964, was extensively rewritten and expanded for a new edition this year).


"This is an exciting future-dream with real characters, a believable mythos and, what's more important, an excellent, readable story."
– FRANK HERBERT, author of *Children of Dune*
DREAM SNAKE
The haunting, rich and tender novel of a unique healer and her strange ordeal by Nebula Award winner
VONDA N. McINTYRE

It becomes clear that there has been a subtle change in human psychology and culture.

Her latest is *Stormqueen* (1978), set in a period before the coming of the Terrans, when the Darkovans were breeding for "psi" powers—with disastrous results. Skeptics about such phenomena should know that Bradley, like other good sf writers, is *not* a gullible follower of the Uri Gellers or a believer in "paranormal" powers as a magical solution to human problems: if such exist, they would *create* as many problems as they solved, and human responsibilities in dealing with them would be serious indeed.

FREDERIK POHL

Other old hands in science fiction have been developing in new directions. Frederik Pohl, back in the 1950s, was known primarily as a satirist, for both his own works ("The Tunnel under the World") and those in collaboration with the late Cyril Kornbluth (*The Space Merchants*). But in recent years he has shown a strong talent for hard-science sf and world creation in works like "The Merchants of Venus" (1972) and *Gateway* (1977, a Hugo winner).

Jem (St. Martin's, 1979), Pohl's most recent novel, combines world creation with his acid satire: earth is going to pot, as usual, with the rival Food, Fuel, and People blocs (political alignments rather different from today's, but no less hostile) jockeying for position as resources diminish and the environment degenerates.

N-OA Bes Bes Geminorum, the "Jem" of the title, is a newly discovered planet orbiting a quasi-stellar object—a "star" so dim that its world is bathed only in a soft red light. But the climate is favorable, and Jem is blessed with abundant natural resources and three intelligent races to exploit. Naturally, the blocs waste no time in doing so; and Danny Dalehouse, one of the few men of conscience in the Food Bloc mission to Jem, becomes a witness and a largely ineffective opponent to the ravaging of a wondrous, innocent world and its peoples. Pohl's satirical vision is edged with a special blend of bitterness and stoicism in *Jem*.

ARTHUR C. CLARKE

Another of science fiction's old hands, Arthur C. Clarke, has written what he insists is his *last* sf novel with *The Fountains of Paradise* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979). This is a hard science fiction engineering novel of the old school, in which the hero sets out to revolutionize space travel by building an "elevator" from Sri Lanka to a synchronous satellite—and accomplishes his goal, although he does not attain quite the sort of "immortality" he had hoped for. Clarke develops historical-religious parallels between the elevator project and that of an early Sri Lanka king for a mountaintop temple-palace; and as in all Clarke novels, there is an underlying philosophical theme on the nature and destiny of man.

LIBERATING SF

What could be the harbinger of a new school of libertarian sf comes in J. Neil Schulman's *Alongside Night* (reviewed elsewhere in this issue). It has already drawn an endorsement from no less than Anthony (*A Clockwork Orange*) Burgess.

Recent translations of Soviet science

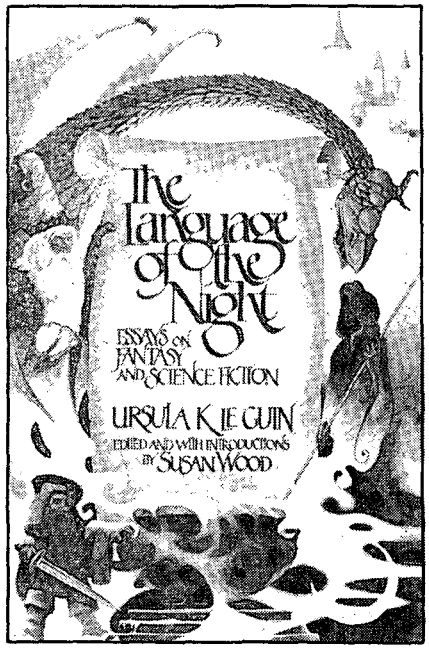
(*Continued on p. 44.*)

URSULA LE GUIN: NOVELIST

BY JEFF RIGGENBACH

The Language of the Night: Essays on Fantasy and Science Fiction

By Ursula K. Le Guin. Edited by Susan Wood.
New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1979.
343 pp. $9.95.


The Language of the Night
ESSAYS ON FANTASY AND SCIENCE FICTION
URSULA K LE GUIN
EDITED AND WITH INTRODUCTIONS BY SUSAN WOOD

UNTIL QUITE RECENTLY, TO CALL A piece of literature "science fiction" was to brand it as inconsequential. Of course, to fans of the genre, the term *science fiction* is very nearly what *heavenly father* is to the Christian: the name of all that is holy, all that is due a genuinely religious reverence and devotion. And to the publisher and the bookseller, it is a label that virtually guarantees a certain sale, albeit a modest one, and is therefore a safe bet (which is why science fiction is comparatively easy for a beginning writer to sell). But to the critic, the term *science fiction* is, and for a long time has been, a convenient epithet by means of which an entire group of books may be shunted aside, dismissed, without fear that any rival critic might show up one's hasty judgment by subjecting the books in question to closer and more sympathetic scrutiny.

This is changing—and well it should. For at least a decade now the genius of American literature has been with science fiction to an altogether disproportionate extent. Of the half-dozen American novels of the 1970s that stand a reasonable chance of enduring, of becoming "classics," four or five, depending on how broadly or narrowly the term is construed, are "science fiction." Two—*The Word for World Is Forest* (1972) and *The Dispossessed* (1974)—are by the same novelist, a science fiction writer named Ursula K. Le Guin.

LYING, METAPHORICALLY

Le Guin has been presented with one National Book Award for her children's fantasy, *The Farthest Shore* (1972), and nominated for another for her superb collection of "mainstream" short stories, *Orsinian Tales* (1976). And she answers the question, Why do you write science fiction? by saying, "Because that is what publishers call my books. Left to myself, I should call them novels."

This may sound like the reply of a writer who has been tempted by the taste of popular success to denigrate and disown the medium that made her success possible, but it is not. Unlike Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., who began denying that he was a science fiction writer as soon as acceptance into the income bracket and intellectual/social milieu of the literary mainstream made it profitable for him to do so, Le Guin describes herself frequently and proudly as a science fiction writer. She only holds the opinion that science fiction is fundamentally just like any other fiction and that as a category it is of more use to publishers and booksellers than to writers and readers.

"It's lovely," she writes, "to be invited to participate in Futurological Congresses,. . . to be asked to tell the newspapers what America will be like in 2001, and all that, but it's a terrible mistake. I write science fiction, and science fiction isn't about the future." What then is it about? Lies. "A novelist's business," says Le Guin, "is lying." But this is not to say, paradoxically enough, that fiction writers are uninterested in truth. On the contrary, they are mainly preoccupied with telling the truth. It's just that "they go about it in a peculiar and devious way, which consists in inventing persons,

(*Continued on p. 43.*)

AN ALL-TOO-POSSIBLE FUTURE

BY F. PAUL WILSON

Schulman's characters face social collapse and find a way out

Alongside Night

By J. Neil Schulman.
New York: Crown Publishers. 1979.
181 pp. $8.95.

LET'S NOT CALL THIS SCIENCE FICTION. After all, the publisher isn't, despite the fact that it follows the best "If this goes on..." tradition of the genre. Let's call it near-future fiction and leave it at that, although it's also a coming-of-age novel, a utopian/dystopian novel, and a novel of ideas. It's also a first novel, and it's full of surprises, not all of them confined to the plot.

Briefly, *Alongside Night* concerns Elliot Vreeland, the 17-year-old son of a Nobel Prize-winning economist — one whose theories seem to jibe nicely with the Chicago School. (The Author's Note disclaims any intentional similarities between the economist character and Milton Friedman.)

COLLECTIVIST TROUBLES

Elliot Vreeland's world is Manhattan in the not-too-distant future, in an America that is falling apart. Decades of fiscal mismanagement and irresponsibility have finally brought the country to the brink of economic collapse. The inflation rate is through the roof, the cost-of-living index was 2,012 percent for the last quarter of the previous year, a taxi ride costs 2,000 blues (New Dollars). Businesses are failing hourly, strikes are rampant, and Elliot, a high school senior, is not even sure there will be any colleges left to attend come September.

But these are merely background problems, a part of everyday life. Elliot's trials begin in earnest when his father, mother, and sister disappear, kidnapped —possibly murdered—by forces of the State. Armed with a .38-caliber Peking revolver and a money belt full of Mexican 50-peso gold pieces, he begins a trek through a future Manhattan on the verge of social collapse.

At first look, the cityscape Schulman presents is a nightmare, totally alien to anything on earth; yet the more you see, the more you realize how uncomfortably close it is to Mayor Koch's town. There are bright spots, however—pockets of civilization made safe by merchant groups who have hired security forces to protect their customers. Eventually, Elliot connects with the Revolutionary Agorist Cadre, a laissez-faire underground group that has been labeled "terrorist" and "gangster" by the government, and outlawed. Within one of the cadre's safe areas he meets Lorimer, a girl his age who, like most cadre members, goes by a pseudonym and who is more than she seems.

The agorists dine in places like the Tanstaafl Cafe, fly the Gadsden flag, and say things like "A is A." The author has put a lot of effort and ingenuity into little things among the agorists, especially the names of their businesses: ***NoState Insurance, Anarchobank*** (which issues the Bank Anarchocard to qualified customers), the ***Black Supermarket***, and so on.

Some will be tempted to compare *Alongside Night* to *Atlas Shrugged*: both works deal with America on the brink and with a libertarian group that has retreated to a secret enclave. But the resemblance stops there. Ayn Rand's book puts forth a set of carefully derived principles and expounds on the philosophy derived from those principles. Schulman takes a completely different approach. His characters make no speeches. Aside from excerpts from a few fictitious

books, there is little discussion of principles. Instead, he lets the social and economic chaos of Elliot Vreeland's world speak for itself. The thrust of *Alongside Night* is entirely empirical. The message is clear in everything we are shown: *collectivism doesn't work.* And if we continue with our current fiscal and social policies, Elliot's world is what we must expect.

Do not let the above lead you to think that there are no ideas here. There are. Plenty of them. None entirely unique to libertarian thought, but many that are potentially shocking to the uninitiated—those who still believe in municipal bonds, the stock market, the FCC, urban renewal, and on and on.

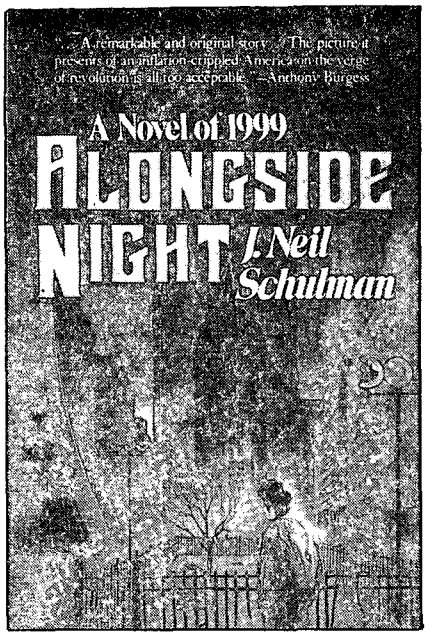
But most important of all, I think, is Schulman's emphasis on, and insistent use of, the term *agora*. It's from the Greek, meaning marketplace, and is, as far as the reading public is concerned, a neutral term. Unlike "capitalism" and even "libertarianism" ("What's that you say? He's a libertine?"), agora engenders no knee-jerk responses. It's not even an official *ism*.

FIRST NOVEL TROUBLES

As with any first novel, *Alongside Night* is not without its flaws. Any novel of ideas must walk a tightrope. The ideas are the raison d'être for the work, yet it must remain a novel: there must be emotional involvement of sufficient intensity to counterbalance the intellectual content. This isn't easy. It requires an expert sense of balance. Schulman does well for the most part, but after a tense beginning, the adrenalin fades as we move into the middle chapters. There's intellectual stimulation aplenty as we explore the Revolutionary Agorist Cadre and meet the mysterious Lorimer, but emotionally it's a trough.

It could be, however, that I found these sections emotionally flat because of my familiarity with libertarian thought; outsiders, seeing laissez-faire economics put to practical use for the first time, may well find the middle chapters riveting. A strong emotional component here might only prove distracting.

The main characters could use further development. Do not misunderstand: they are not stereotypes; none of the major characters is a stereotype. But Elliot is a bit too cool for a teenager whose family has been kidnapped, his father possibly murdered by the State. And Lorimer/Deanne, considering her developmental environment—how did she ever manage to become a libertarian? Neither of them seems to have much of a life outside the plot. Elliot obviously likes science fiction—but is it a mere reading preference, or does he have a passion for it? He plays chess well—a passion, or something for idle hours? I didn't feel I knew him too much better at the end of the book than I did at the beginning. Again, this may be a calculated effect on the author's part, but in a novel involving coming of age, I like to be pushed a little deeper under that character's skin.


"...A remarkable and original story... The picture it presents of an unutilitarian-crippled America on the verge of revolution is all too acceptable." —Anthony Burgess
A Novel of 1999
ALONGSIDE NIGHT
J. Neil Schulman

The more you see Schulman's nightmarish cityscape, the more you realize how close it is to Mayor Koch's town.

NO COMPROMISES

These are minor points. The story picks up again in the second half, and there are so many good moments all the way through. Schulman's writing is at its best when he's moving his characters through the streets of Manhattan-to-be, where virtually everyone is a criminal: there are the moral criminals—the muggers, the thieves, the bureaucrats—and there are the statutory criminals—gun owners, gold owners, black marketeers. You get the *feel* of social breakdown. It's unsettling.

Yet it's not all bleak and chaotic. There are touches of humor and glimmers of hope amid the gloom. There is a truly startling moment in part one in which Elliot asks a porn shop counterman who has been hiding gold for his father why he hadn't stolen the gold and run off. The man's reply: "I didn't steal the gold 'cause it don't belong to me." After seeing what is going on in the rest of the city, the simple integrity of that statement hits you right between the eyes . . . and stays with you for the rest of the book.

This is a radical novel. It pulls no punches, offers no compromises. It effectively presents a social, moral, and political point of view without polemic, without stridency. Without hysteria, it projects a bleak future for us all, but not without hope, for there's a deep affection for humanity despite all its foibles underlying every sentence. I understand J. Neil Schulman is only 26; I foresee a long and successful writing career ahead of him. I don't know him, but after reading this, his first novel, I'd like to.

Alongside Night offers the libertarian reader a great deal of pleasure, but holds so much more for the nonlibertarian. It will shock those who are unprepared for it. Who knows?—It may even wake a few people up. I hope it sells 20 million copies. ◻

F. Paul Wilson is a practicing physician and the author of several novels. For Wheels within Wheels, *he was recently given the first Prometheus Award—payment in gold for outstanding libertarian sf.*

Riggenbach

(*Continued from p. 41*)

places, and events which never did and never will exist or occur, and telling about these fictions in detail and at length and with a great deal of emotion, and then when they are done writing down this pack of lies, they say, There! That's the truth!"

And how can a pack of lies be the truth? By being, not *literally* true, but *metaphorically* true. It is not literally true that Richard Nixon is a monster, but it is metaphorically true; and we can communicate a good deal of truth about Nixon's character by making the statement that he is a monster, which is a lie. So it is too with those longer, "elaborately circumstantial lies" we call novels.

"All fiction is metaphor," Le Guin writes. "Science fiction is metaphor. What sets it apart from older forms of fiction seems to be its use of new metaphors, drawn from certain great dominants of our contemporary life—science, all the sciences, technology, and the relativistic and historical outlook, among them. Space travel is one of these

metaphors; so is an alternative society, an alternative biology; the future is another." Still another is the alternative polity, and it is this one among science fiction's metaphors that Ursula Le Guin has exploited to greatest advantage.

INSIGHT AND CONFUSION

The Dispossessed is an anarchist utopia. *The Word for World Is Forest* is a fable in celebration of countercultural political values: it is antiwar, antibigotry, antimilitarist, and anti-imperialist; and it is easy to understand why the generation that fought so tenaciously against the Vietnam war has enthusiastically adopted this novel. It was in fact written, Le Guin tells us, "in the winter of 1968, during a year's stay in London," with the antiwar movement, in which Le Guin was an active participant, half a world away, and the participant aching for an outlet for her bottled-up ideological fervor. Her 1976 short story, "The Diary of the Rose," is libertarian in still another way (it is almost certainly the most chilling fictional damnation of political psychiatry since *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest*), as is her most recent novel, *The Eye of the Heron* (1978).

The fact is, like every other American writer of permanent importance, Le Guin is individualist, antiauthoritarian; and it seems natural to call her—in the broadest and most useful sense—a libertarian. Yet try as we might to slap this label on her, we can't make it stick. In the first place, she won't have it. She has described herself as a "petty bourgeois anarchist," but she has also described exactly what sort of anarchism it is that she considers "the most idealistic, and to me the most interesting, of all political theories":

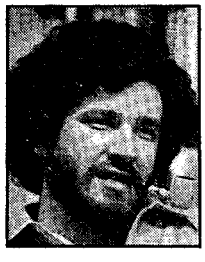
> *Not the bomb-in-the-pocket stuff, which is terrorism, whatever name it tries to dignify itself with; not the social-Darwinist economic "libertarianism" of the far right; but anarchism, as prefigured in early Taoist thought, and expounded by Shelley and Kropotkin, Goldman and Goodman. Anarchism's principal target is the authoritarian State (capitalist or socialist); its principal moral-practical theme is cooperation (solidarity, mutual aid).*

And, as if this (which appeared four years ago in her collection *The Wind's Twelve Quarters*) weren't enough, she now lumps "libertarianism" (for her, apparently, the quotation marks are part of the spelling) with technocracy and (are you ready for this?) Scientology, as a "reactionary, easy-answer" approach to social problems.

To top it all off, she devotes large chunks of an essay called "The Stalin of the Soul" to inveighing against "censorship by the market." It seems that whenever a writer chooses to concoct a potboiler and produce ready cash rather than concoct the book he'd like to concoct if he didn't have to feed his family, he's willingly submitted to censorship. He hasn't yielded to temptation; he hasn't chosen one value (money) over another (artistic self-expression) and acted accordingly; he's submitted to censorship. His case is fully comparable to that of the Russian novelist Yevgeny Zamyatin, whose famous novel, *We* (1921), has been suppressed by law in the Soviet Union for nearly 60 years. Can this be Ursula Le Guin speaking, the same Ursula Le Guin whose anarchist novel, *The Dispossessed*, reflects so much insightful thinking about the way the spontaneous order of the market works to bind communities together?

Libertarian or not, Le Guin is one of our very best fiction writers, and, as this book readily demonstrates, a graceful and provocative essayist to boot. Twenty-four essays are collected here (many of them rescued from the pages of small-circulation science fiction fanzines where they would have remained undeservedly obscure), together with an exhaustive checklist of all of Le Guin's published work, so that you can hunt up those of her essays that aren't included in *The Language of the Night*. There aren't that many of them, by the way, and they might have been included if editor Susan Wood had relinquished a few of the 25 pages she spends uselessly and tediously summarizing Le Guin's ideas. The function of an editor is to edit, not to clutter up the place with superfluous, garrulous introductory remarks. ◧

Le Guin is one of our very best fiction writers and a graceful and provocative essayist to boot.



Jeff Riggenbach is the executive editor of Libertarian Review *and a radio commentator syndicated through the Cato Institute's Byline program. He is currently writing a book on the meaning of the '60s.*

Pierce

(Continued from p. 40.)

fiction, published by Macmillan, reveal a strikingly humanistic and—to the extent this is possible at all—even implicitly libertarian attitude. Most of the translated works were originally published during Soviet sf's golden age of the 1960s; sf publishing has been considerably curtailed in this decade and its themes restricted, but the earlier classics are still helping to keep humane values alive in a society where dogmatic puritanism otherwise prevails.

Of course, the authors have to frame their arguments carefully. In *World Soul*, for example, Mikhail Emtsev and Eremei Parnov threaten the world with the "biotosis"—an experiment in a self-reproducing biological polymer that acquires a "consciousness" of its own and begins to bind all mankind into a collective, telepathic communion. Supposedly, this would be the physical expression of the ideas of communism. But no, the heroes of the novel argue with the proponents of such a viewpoint: men must *choose* to work together for the common good, not become mere cogs in a biological automaton. And they lead a struggle for people to learn to control their own wills and overcome the "biotosis."

Several novels by Arkady and Boris Strugatsky, including *Prisoners of Power* (originally titled *Inhabited Island*) are now available from Macmillan. *Prisoners* is perhaps the most significant, with its story of a precocious "superman" trying to influence events on a world that has gone through an atomic war and is ruled by a bureaucratic elite vaguely (and necessarily so!) resembling that of the Communist Party. It is the Strugatskys' best effort at world creation (the atmosphere is so dense that the horizon seems to curve *up*, and the natives believe they live on the *inside* of the only world that exists), and the plot is entertaining and adventurous, with a deliciously ironic twist at the end.

All these are but a few of the recent works that make science fiction worth reading now more than ever before. Science fiction today is a literature that is entertaining and exciting—and *significant.* ◧

John J. Pierce recently finished a stint as editor of Galaxy *magazine and is now assistant editor of a trade magazine in the food industry. For several years he contributed an sf column to* REASON.

AMERICAN DISSIDENTS

BY JUSTUS D. DOENECKE

Felix Morley and Henry Regnery reflect on their lives in American publishing

For the Record

By Felix Morley.
South Bend, Ind.: Regnery/Gateway.
1979. 480 pp. $15.00.

Memoirs of a Dissident Publisher

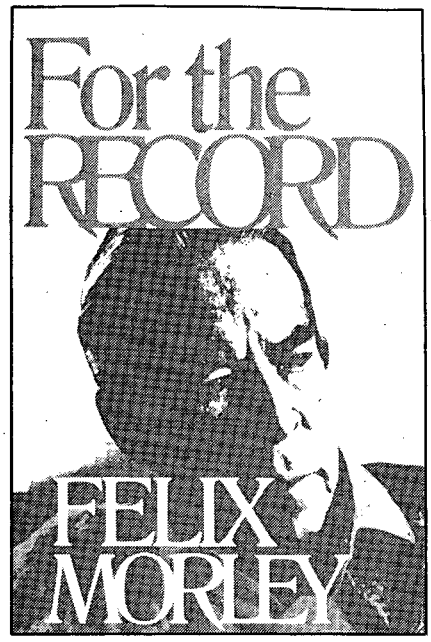
By Henry Regnery.
New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
1979. 260 pp. $12.95.

TO READ THE MEMOIRS OF DISSENTERS is always a welcome task for a historian. It is particularly so when the dissenters are individuals who, in one way or another, have gone against the grain of conventional thought, for such writing can often cut through what is pedestrian or banal. Both of these books offer some healthy demythologizing and in the process show that what is commonly seen today as liberalism has no monopoly on either learning or literacy.

Felix Morley is the undisputed elder statesman of the classic form of American liberalism, or what Morley himself refers to as "libertarianism." A man of rich experience, Morley has been a correspondent for the *Baltimore Sun*, director of the Geneva office of the League of Nations Association, staff member of the Brookings Institution (which awarded him an earned doctorate), and chief editorial writer of the *Washington Post* (in which capacity he received a Pulitzer Price). During World War II he was president of Haverford College, and after the war he helped found *Human Events*, was broadcaster for Three-Star Extra, and wrote voluminously for *Barron's* and *Nation's Business*. His scholarly books, such as *Power in the People*, are still appreciated by professors and laymen alike, while his personal advice and reflections have long put statesmen, historians, and political commentators in his debt.

The Morley family, stemming from merchant Quaker stock, is a gifted one. Felix's father was a prominent mathematician at Haverford and Johns Hopkins. One of his brothers, Frank, was a noted publisher. The other, Christopher, was a famous dramatist and critic.

Felix was educated in a genteel and learned Quaker tradition, first at Baltimore Friends and then at Haverford. From the Society of Friends he undoubtedly received his distaste for war and his belief in voluntarism. From the distinguished theologian Rufus Jones he discovered that all philosophy must be grounded in ethics. And throughout his book Morley continually calls for the type of traditionalist education he received as a youth; he once told the dean of a new school of journalism that its curriculum should center on math and the classics.



His personal advice and reflections have put statesmen, historians, and political commentators in his debt.

THE PERCEPTIVE REPORTER

Yet Morley's education soon involved more than books, and his service in World War I in particular was something of an initiation. While an ambulance driver on the Western front, he witnessed carnage at the towns of Loos and Ypres, and his descriptions of it are most moving. True, he was soon dissatisfied with "a Quaker pacifism which pallidly ignored all differences between the warring camps and often seemed to view political aspects of the struggle as immaterial." Yet he already doubted whether militarism and brutality were "unique characteristics of the German people," and rumors of a vindictive Allied peace led him to see little positive emerging from the struggle. He was especially appalled by American intolerance, evident in the jailing of Socialist leader Eugene Victor Debs and in George Creel's "prototype of Dr. Goebbels' Ministry of Public Enlightenment."

Morley was sympathetic to the Bolshevik desire "to stop the slaughter on the eastern front"; yet he predicted that all such extension of government power—as well as the continuation of the war itself—would limit human freedom far more than a much-maligned capitalistic system. "The workers," Morley writes, "certainly would not gain by substituting public for private exploitation of labor. The future lay in the general prosperity to be achieved by disarmament, elimination of trade barriers and other obstacles to international cooperation for which a pretentious nationalism, not capitalism, was fundamentally to blame."

Much of Morley's education, of course, came through journalism, and here his experience was unusually rich. As a Rhodes scholar, he edited a Labour Club monthly—the *New Oxford*—supported Anglo-German reconciliation, and investigated conditions in such strife-torn areas as Essen and Dublin. He was a strong critic of the French occupation of the Rhineland, noting how more than 100 German civilians were shot for protesting the billeting of Algerian soldiers. While working for the *Baltimore Sun*, he was able to discuss an impending coal strike with labor leader John L. Lewis, Atlantic federation with journalist Clarence K. Streit, German inflation with foreign minister Gustav Stresemann, geopolitics with German geographer Karl Haushofer, minority problems with Czech president Eduard Beňes, and Nazi ambitions with British foreign secretary Anthony Eden.

In the mid-1920s, Morley was a first-hand observer of Soviet penetration of China, Japanese imperial designs on the Asian mainland, and Philippine frustration with US occupation. To hear German foreign minister Walter Rathenau on the dangers of State socialism, Japanese foreign minister Baron Shidehara on Nippon's prerogatives in Manchuria, British foreign secretary Arthur Henderson on European unity, American diplomat Stanley K. Hornbeck on Japanese moves in Asia—all were part of the daily routine of a perceptive reporter whose energy had once impressed Woodrow Wilson. Indeed, there was hardly a Western leader with whom Morley did not have personal contact.

INTERNATIONAL OUTLOOK

When in 1933 Morley became editor of the *Washington Post*, he hoped to make it an American version of the *Manchester Guardian*. "That is to say," he writes, "its outlook should be international; its philosophy independent and liberal in the classical sense of the word; its foreign correspondence informative and impartial; its editorials well written and forceful; its adherence to strictly Constitutional government unquestionable." In some of these aims, Morley succeeded. As the historian of the *Post*, Chalmers M. Roberts, has recently noted, "Felix Morley had firm principles and a deft pen. He gave the editorial page élan and distinction and made it a topic of conversation, its pieces widely quoted."

With his background, Morley became a moderate internationalist—one who adhered to a modified federalism. His *Society of Nations*, published in 1932, quickly became a classic, so much so that it was used (not always with success) in drafting the UN Charter. He had favored Hoover for president in 1928 and 1932 but in 1936 cast his vote for the interventionist Roosevelt. In 1939 FDR himself praised Morley's editorial pledging the US to halt Fascist aggression. (Morley goes so far as to say that Roosevelt acted in part on his editorial when the president sent personal messages to both Hitler and Mussolini.)

Much of Morley's internationalism, however, depended upon the recovery of Germany into an economically integrated Europe. Indeed, collective security and revision of the Versailles Treaty went hand in hand. Western recognition of Germany's illegal rearmament, he declared, "might spill the wind from Hitler's sails." "The Fuehrer's strength depended on the rankling sense of injustice among all elements of the German people. Let them see that they were no longer regarded as pariahs, give their diligence more chance to improve their economic condition, and the menace of the Nazi movement might well fade away."

A distinction was to be drawn, he insisted, between German occupation of its own Rhineland and such deeds as Italy's aggression against Ethiopia and Japan's invasion of China. After the Munich pact was signed, Morley saw a chance for a new European system, one based upon Franco-German accord and backed by the United States. He blamed the Poles for refusing to make concessions over Danzig, then the Germans for secretly dividing Poland with the Russians, and finally Britain for jeopardizing the very existence of her empire "in order to restrain Germany from regaining an almost wholly Germanic city."

THE DANGERS OF WAR

Given such views, Morley soon tempered his interventionism. American participation in a European war, he believed, would lead to confiscation of pri-

vate property, brutalize the populace, centralize power, and thereby alter "the structure of a federal republic constitutionally dedicated to the dispersion, division and localization of power." He saw "more than a chance that such pressures would undermine the basic institutions of the United States, no matter who won or lost on fields of battle."

Less than two months after Hitler invaded Russia, Morley's anti-interventionism was strengthened, for he was visited by Adam Von Trott, a German diplomat active in the Resistance and a man later executed by the Nazis. Von Trott told him how the Kreisau Circle, led by Leipzig mayor Karl Goerdeler, could overthrow Hitler, make a truce, and democratize Germany. Morley put Von Trott in contact with such leading State Department officials as George S. Messersmith and Sumner Welles, "but somewhere along the line channels to the White House were blocked."

Hence the man whose editorials had backed Republican Spain, sought nonrecognition of Italy's conquest of Ethiopia, and attacked the neutrality acts, became an anti-interventionist. Although he declined invitations to join the America First Committee, he drafted a petition—signed by prominent Republican leaders—opposing an undeclared war. He writes:

Whether under Nazi or Communist dominance, there was going to be a new Mittel-Europa, in which neither Britain nor France would any longer be influential and where Wilsonian theories of self-determination would play no part. If there were a split between Berlin and Moscow, then only one brand of dictatorship would eventually come to domination in Central Europe. In this case, by throwing its great power to the Russian side, the United States could doubtless tip the balance in favor of Communism. But could anyone with liberal instincts regard such an outcome gladly?

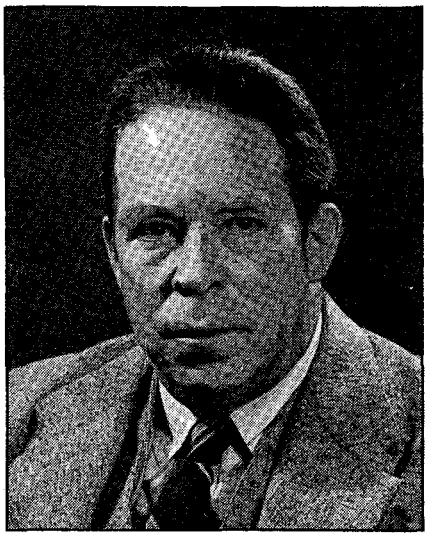
Morley's opposition to Roosevelt extended to the administration's Pacific policy. A close Japanese friend, diplomat Ken Harada, told him late in 1939 of possibilities for peace in Asia. "Japan," Morley learned, "was getting bogged down in China and there was a good chance that liberal leadership would regain control in Tokyo, if the United States did not now take a provocative attitude." Morley, who had earlier wanted to guarantee China's territorial integrity against Japanese onslaught, passed Harada's plea on to Secretary of State Cordell Hull, who—as Morley notes—was "pardonably skeptical." Late in 1941 he heard that Hull had demanded Japan's withdrawal from all China and Indochina, but "nobody could have expected those then in power in Tokyo to accept these orders from Washington."

By this time Morley had left the *Washington Post* to become president of Haverford. Rufus Jones urged him to return to his alma mater "because further exposure to Quakerism will do thee good." Unfortunately for a man of Morley's educational vision, World War II soon drew off much of the student body, and the Quaker institution resorted to housing various army programs in order to remain solvent.

During World War II Morley warned of Communist advances, sought a negotiated peace, and defended the neutrality of Sweden. He advocated a regional form of international organization linked together by a common council and secretariat. Japan, in his scheme, would remain an Asiatic leader, while a Western European federation could, he hoped, offset both Russian and American power. Herbert Hoover endorsed Morley's proposals, claiming that decentralization would lessen the need for military alliances and therefore "greatly relieve American anxiety lest we be constantly involved in secondary problems all over the earth."

CIVILIZED VALUES

Even before he left Haverford in 1945, Morley joined journalist Frank Hanighan in founding the Washington newsletter *Human Events*. In subsequent years, he held a host of other positions, including the foreign editorship of *Pathfinder* and Washington bureau chief of *Barron's*. Through such groups as the Mt. Pelerin Society, the Volker Fund, and the American Enterprise Institute, he was able in the postwar years to meet leading exponents of classical economic thought, among them F. A. ("Fritz") Hayek. Seeing that economic liberty and political freedom are clearly linked, he criticized many Cold War involvements. "National security," he writes, "was defined in terms that meant the loss of individual freedom."



Felix Morley, 1950

Such views led in 1950 to a split within *Human Events*, one important in tracing the course of American conservatism. Morley wanted to recognize Communist domination of Eastern Europe as a *fait accompli*, downplay the Communists-in-government issue, and abandon the Kuomintang regime on Taiwan. Frank Hanighan leaned in the opposite direction and, with the support of publisher Henry Regnery, was able to buy out Morley's share of the journal.

Morley, however, has stuck by his guns. The strains of total war, he argues, would make the survival of capitalism difficult. Preparing for nuclear conflict with Russia "is close to madness," while Vietnam was simply the most recent evidence that Communism thrives on war. In Morley's eyes, the Republicans favor almost unrestrained military expenditures and have swung toward "imperialism." Yet the Democrats "demand that every sort of social need be sponsored, liberally financed and supervised from Washington." Either way, the nation loses its federalist moorings, becoming a centralized and socialized power.

For the historian, it is regrettable that Morley did not discuss in greater detail his relationship to such people as Rufus Jones, H. L. Mencken, Robert A. Taft Albert J. Nock, and Frank Chodorov. And he leaves unsatisfied curiosity about other elements of his life and thought. Why did he leave the Society of Friends to become an Anglican (the tradition of his mother)? And how does he analyze the transformation of American conservatism into a far more globalist ideology than was generally the case in the '30s?

In summary, however, Morley's book often reveals the man's grace and erudition. He seeks to recover the Roman concept of "virtue" in an age that glorifies violence, to restore dignity in a time that romanticizes saturation bombing and guerrilla warfare. In truth, his near-pacifist values are ones of a more civilized era. Early in life, perhaps as early as World War I, he realized that he could

not hope to change broad historical currents. Yet, taking his leaf from Richard Hooker, whom he calls "the persuasive Elizabethan divine," he writes, "Though for no other cause than for this: That posterity may know we have not loosely through silence permitted things to pass away as in a dream." It is a fitting comment.

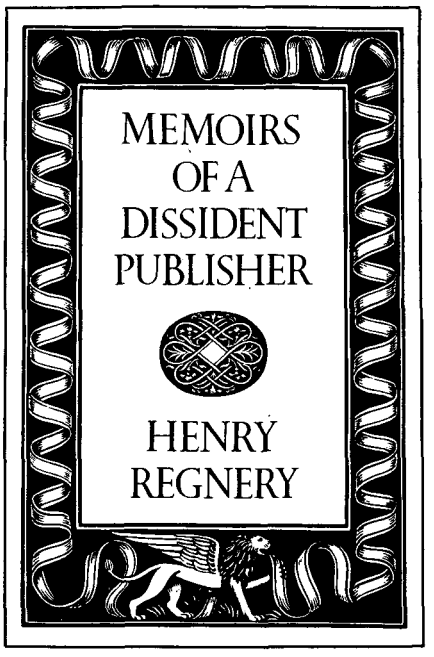
ANTIESTABLISHMENT

Henry Regnery's memoir turns up similar views on some matters, differences on others. Both Regnery and Morley, for example, express appreciation of Joseph Schumpeter and F. A. Hayek, were extremely critical of Roosevelt's wartime diplomacy, and pushed hard for German rehabilitation after World War II. Regnery knows Morley well, published his book *Freedom and Federalism*, and regards him as one of the nation's leading conservatives. The two men, however, undoubtedly differ on the nature of Communism and how best to contain it, with Regnery taking the more strident position.

Regnery is generally associated with the publishing house that bears his name, and it is illuminating to learn something of the man himself. He begins by telling of his German and English ancestors, his upbringing in Hinsdale, Illinois, and early travels in such cities as Bonn and Cologne. His descriptions of Hitler's Reich are one of the most fascinating parts of the book. Interestingly, for a man later so suspicious of State power, Regnery at first admired the New Deal. In fact, he once worked for the Resettlement Administration, a federal bureau.

There is undoubtedly more than a touch of self-effacement when he writes, "Armour Institute of Technology convinced me that I would never become an engineer, M.I.T. that I would never become a mathematician, Harvard Graduate School that I would never become a scholar, my father's business [textiles] that I would never become a businessman. Because of my good fortune in being the son of a successful and wise father, I did become a publisher."

From the beginning, Regnery's press sought to challenge what he calls "the governmental and intellectual establishment." The firm began publishing pamphlets from a small office above a Hinsdale drugstore. In the first pamphlets, Karl Brandt, professor of agricultural economics at Stanford, warned against Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau and his plan to partition and deindustrialize Germany; Robert Maynard Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago, opposed a harsh peace and use of the atomic bomb; and Felix Morley wrote a critique of the UN Charter.



Regnery's first pamphlets disturbed enough sacred cows to lead him to consider book publishing as a profession.

The words of Hutchins are particularly haunting, and Regnery is wise to quote them. "So we call Japanese soldiers fanatics when they die rather than surrender, whereas American soldiers who do the same thing are heroes. We prove that all Germans are murderers and all Japanese apes, and at the same time insist that we are going to have one world in which all men are brothers....And the new day dawns by the light of the burning homes of Tokyo and Yokohama."

PUBLISHING FEATS

Other authors followed, including Quaker theologian Douglas Steere, essayist Clare Boothe Luce, historian John U. Nef, publisher Oswald Garrison Villard, religious journalist Harold E. Fey, and political scientist Raymond Aron (whom Regnery introduced to this country). The pamphlets covered a variety of issues, among them Russian concentration camps, the failure of high schools, pacifism, the Potsdam treaty, Gandhi, technology, Leninism, and minorities. And they disturbed enough sacred cows to lead Regnery to consider book publishing as a profession.

Many of Regnery's first books dealt with the theme of German rehabilitation, and here his choice of authors was often fortunate. Victor Gollancz, a prominent left-wing publisher in Britain, wrote two volumes on starvation during the early occupation. (Said *Time* magazine of Gollancz's *Our Threatened Values*, "Though retaining his Jewish faith and socialist belief, Gollancz has here written a fiery, almost transported plea for a return to the ways of the early Christians.") Then Hans Rothfels, historian at the University of Chicago, wrote the first scholarly account of the German Resistance. Montgomery Belgion, British essayist and critic, branded the Nuremberg trials *Victor's Justice*, as did British diplomat Lord Hankey in *Politics, Trials and Errors*. Freda Utley, an English journalist who became an American citizen during World War II, wrote *The High Cost of Vengeance*, a less temperate attack on all features of the Allied occupation, ranging from the dismantling of German plants to arbitrary arrests and confinement. Little wonder that it was Regnery's firm that Konrad Adenauer chose to publish the American edition of his memoirs.

Perhaps Regnery's greatest early coup involved publishing the memoirs of General Hans Speidel, a man who had commanded German forces when the Allies invaded Norway. Speidel claimed that a sustained Allied drive would have ended the war in the west in the summer of 1944, for the Germans were too disorganized to resist. Regnery also published the memoirs of Adolph Heusinger, German chief of staff during the Russian campaign.

Much of Regnery's concern with Germany is rooted in his own family background, for his grandfather was born of Roman Catholic stock near the Roman city of Trier. But much concern is rooted in his dismay at the results of the Allied bombing raids, results that he personally witnessed in the fall of 1949. Noting that there was hardly an undamaged building in the cathedral city of Cologne, he writes that the city "offers graphic evidence that the Allied air raids were largely directed at civilian rather than military or industrial objectives. In contrast to the destruction inflicted on this old city, with its many treasures, a great power station beyond the city limits, which is one of the largest in Europe and can be seen for

miles, was undamaged." It is therefore quite understandable that Regnery took much delight in publishing Max Picard's *Hitler in Our Selves*, in which the Swiss writer of Jewish background found National Socialism a warning of what could happen to any people.

UNOFFICIAL HISTORY

World War II revisionism is another topic in which Regnery pioneered. He offers summaries and defenses of leading revisionist works, including some that were published by other firms. Regnery's own contributions included William Henry Chamberlin's *America's Second Crusade*, Charles Callan Tansill's *Back Door to War*, and the account of Admiral Husband Kimmel, offering a defense of the naval commander at Pearl Harbor. His portraits of Tansill and revisionist historian Harry Elmer Barnes are particularly helpful to the historian, and Regnery concedes that "Tansill doubtless opened himself unnecessarily to criticism by the rather strident tone his book sometimes assumes." Although few historians today accept Regnery's brand of revisionism, his books did much to crack official history, pointed to dangerous illusions concerning China and the Open Door, stressed the constitutional limits upon presidential war-making, and pointed out the conscious and calculated deception by the nation's highest leadership.

Of equal interest is Regnery's concern with the Middle East. Nejla Izzeddin's *The Arab World* stressed Middle Eastern culture; Alfred M. Lilienthal's *What Price Israel?* offered a strong critique of the Zionist state; Freda Utley's *Will the Middle East Go West?* combined her claim that "Israel has earned her right to exist" with a plea for justice to Arabs; Per-Orlow Anderson's *They Are Human Too* presented a poignant photographic essay on the Arab refugees living in the Gaza strip; and Ethel Mannin's novel *Road to Beersheba* dealt with the exodus of Palestinian Arabs. Here again Regnery offers some interesting sidelights, noting, for example, that two prominent Jews — *Fortune* editor William S. Schlamm and Rabbi Elmer Berger—read the Lilienthal manuscript before publication. And Anderson, so Regnery tells us, was visited by the FBI once his book was published.

In many ways the house of Regnery shows a strong rightist bent. Many have been the volumes blaming Soviet expansion upon the diplomacy of Franklin D. Roosevelt, exposing conditions in Soviet and Chinese prison camps, claiming that State Department hands contributed substantially to the Communist seizure of China, and attacking what Regnery calls "the liberal intellectual establishment" for alleged softness on Communism. Other books have narrated the corruption of the Truman administration, called for curbing the power of trade unions, criticized the administration of social security, defended Sen. Joseph McCarthy, and accused the United Nations of being (in the words of Chesly Manly) "a hoax of monumental proportions."

CIVILIZED TRADITIONS

Regnery sees himself as a philosophical defender of conservatism and was most pleased when, at a meeting of the Mt. Pelerin Society in 1957, Russell Kirk took on F. A. Hayek on this topic. Regnery's brand of conservatism transcends, while it endorses, the free market. He always remembers a comment made by Schumpeter who, after a lengthy class discussion on the merits of capitalism and socialism, said, "It all depends on what you want. If I had my choice, I would take the society that produced the cathedral at Chartres." He also quotes approvingly the German economist Wilhelm Roepke, whom he calls "a principled and eloquent supporter of the free market": "The highest interests of the community and the indispensable things of life have no exchange value and are neglected if supply and demand are allowed to dominate the field.... Self-discipline, a sense of justice, honesty, fairness, chivalry, moderation, public spirit, respect for human dignity, firm ethical norms—all of these are things which people must possess before they go to market and compete with each other."

Henry Regnery

As with his revisionism, Regnery's brand of conservatism (not to mention his views on many events and trends since World War II) would find a host of critics. Still, people of many political persuasions would appreciate his fine pen portraits of prominent intellectuals. He tells of meetings with novelists Wyndham Lewis and John Dos Passos, political scientist Willmoore Kendall (undoubtedly one of the most eccentric people Regnery has ever known), economist Frank Chodorov, political theorist Bertrand de Jouvenal, and theologians Gabriel Marcel and Romano Guardini. With such a group as this, Regnery is confident that "the conservative movement is not on the side of the big battalions, but is a carrier of the traditions and values that have sustained and given substance to Western civilization, and those within it can feel that they have assumed an honorable task and are in distinguished company."

Some of his stories are particularly delightful: Freda Utley telephoning long distance collect to query why her recent book was not on sale in a local Alabama drugstore; poet Roy Campbell Indian-wrestling in a drunken stupor when due at a reception given by *Poetry* magazine; T. S. Eliot telling Regnery why he should not be ashamed of publishing Edgar Guest; Regnery discovering that the Italians did not want Ezra Pound to broadcast during World War II; Harry Truman personally writing to Regnery to denounce the "untruths" of Chesly Manly; Konrad Adenauer discussing the common market and Gaullist moves.

Again, one wishes for greater detail—on such topics as his father (who was the leading backer of the America First Committee), the Foundation for Foreign Affairs (which his father helped to establish), *Modern Age* magazine, peace leader Frederick J. Libby, and Regnery's reaction to the varied transformations of the American right.

Yet Regnery's book, like Morley's, is particularly valuable to the historian. Indeed, we need far more memoirs by, and monographs on, individuals who dissented from the ideological orthodoxy that so permeated World War II and its aftermath. ◻

Justus Doenecke is a professor of history at the New College of the University of South Florida. His Not to the Swift: The Old Isolationists in the Cold War Era *has just been published by Bucknell University Press.*

HERBERT SPENCER: RADICAL ANTISTATIST

BY ELLEN FRANKEL PAUL

The Principles of Ethics

By Herbert Spencer. Introduction by Tibor R. Machan.
Indianapolis: Liberty Classics. 1978.
2 vols. $18.00/$6.00.

THE REPUBLICATION BY LIBERTY PRESS of Herbert Spencer's *The Principles of Ethics*, along with recent articles and books on his politics, portends a rebirth of interest in the political thought of this great, iconoclastic individualist. It is rather ironic that in our own time of burgeoning welfare statism—a collectivism that Spencer denounced in scathing diatribes toward the end of his life in *Man versus the State*—this radical antistatist should be enjoying a revival. In his own day Spencer was appreciated more for his contribution to the inception of the discipline of sociology—or scathingly attacked for his agnosticism. It is only in recent years that his politics have been given comparable attention.

During his lifetime, Spencer aggressively and fairly consistently fought against the enemies of economic freedom and the defenders of the State. As British politics turned in the 1880s decisively away from laissez-faire and toward its long slide into socialism, Spencer increasingly became an isolated figure.

Yet even in the earlier period of free-market domination, Spencer had been out of tune with the regnant moral defense of liberalism in Britain, that of Benthamite utilitarianism. Instead of offering an instrumental defense of political and economic freedom as ensuring the greatest good for the greatest number, Spencer—from his initial political work, *Social Statics*, published in 1851—established himself as a natural-rights theorist. In his own liberal era, he was

thus a radical, iconoclastic defender of liberty.

On other counts, too, Spencer is deservedly remembered as a rather unusual character. Throughout his life, and he lived well into his 80s, he gave vent to excesses of hypochondria, constantly fearing that he was on the verge of extinction from some medically undiagnosable condition, usually described as thickened blood. For this bizarre malady he would take leave from his dictations to row on the river or engage in games of racquets to increase the circulation to his brain, after which he would resume his literary endeavors. In later years he became increasingly resistant to criticism and eventually took to carrying ear-muffs to his club, which he promptly affixed to his head when anyone proved bold enough to attempt to shatter his tranquility.

EVOLUTIONARY VISION

Personality quirks aside, Spencer was a remarkably fertile thinker. In addition to volumes of essays and folios on primitive societies (*The Descriptive Sociology*), he produced a massive multivolume work, *The Synthetic Philosophy*, the culmination of which is the sections on moral philosophy represented in the two volumes of *The Principles of Ethics*. Spencer's aim was to systematize all of human knowledge into a grand scheme based upon the ideas of evolution and survival of the fittest. What is truly astounding about this monumental effort is the breadth of knowledge exhibited by this self-taught man, a railway engineer by youthful profession.

This system building is exemplary of the genius, and also the superficiality, of much 19th-century thought, the grand sweep of which is certainly lost in the fragmentation of disciplines and thought of our more sophisticated time. There is something refreshing and daring about

the intellectual scope of men like Spencer or John Stuart Mill who ventured to write books on virtually the entire scope of human knowledge, from science to sociology to economics, politics, and human psychology. Nothing escaped their bent toward the integration of knowledge, and Spencer was the grandest system builder of them all.

What Spencer attempted in his *Synthetic Philosophy*, an enterprise that he pressed to completion through 30 years of physical and mental torments, was a synthesis of all life into one overarching vision. A startling insight of his era was that vegetative and animalistic life developed through survival of those organisms best adapted to their environment. Spencer saw man developing similarly, until finally he becomes totally harmonious with a social environment based upon equal freedom, natural rights, mutual sympathy, and nonaggression. This natural process, left free from the hindrances imposed by militarism and interventionist governments, would inexorably lead to the fulfillment and happiness of men and the harmony of human society.

Perhaps the saddest aspect of Spencer's life is attributable to his longevity. In his earlier work, *Social Statics*, a buoyant expectation enlivened his vision of mankind evolving toward a utopian future in which human beings would be individuated yet perfectly suited to peaceful intercourse with others in society. *Justice*, the culmination of the *Synthetic Philosophy*, still evinces this hope, for psychologically Spencer could not renounce the evolutionist thesis that represented the guiding impulse of his life's work. But that faith in man's glorious future succumbed to political events in his declining years.

The England of the 1890s was far, indeed, from the robust England of the first half of the 19th century. Rationalism and individualism, Spencer's abiding values, had reigned virtually unchallenged in the earlier years. In his old age they lay ruined, the victims, he thought, of renascent militarism, imperialism, and regulationism. As he wrote in the *Principles of Sociology* (Volume 1, 1876):

> *If we contrast the period from 1815 to 1850 with the period from 1850 to the present time, we cannot fail to see that along with increased armaments, more frequent conflicts, and a revived military sentiment, there has been a spread of compulsory regulations. While nominally extended by the giving of votes the freedom of the individual has been in many ways actually diminished; both by restrictions which ever-multiplying officials are appointed to insist on, and by the forcible taking of money to secure for him, or for others at his expense, benefits previously left to be secured by each for himself. And undeniably this is a return towards the coercive discipline which pervades the whole social life where the militant type is predominant.*

MITIGATED LIBERTARIANISM

What Spencer never could bring himself to confront was the incompatibility between his own deterministic belief in the inevitable laws of evolution, which for him dictated the inexorable victory of liberalism, and the course of British history. This history manifestly displayed the abandonment of liberalism and, in Spencer's terms, a return to barbarism. How could this have occurred if his philosophy was sound? Obviously it could not.

This failure of history to fulfill the prophecies of a philosopher is not unique to Spencer's case. As Tibor Machan points out in his insightful introduction to these volumes, Karl Marx suffered from a similar betrayal by historical developments. The insomnia, paranoia, and hypochondria of Spencer's later years are perhaps the product of the collectivization of England coupled with his own refusal to reexamine the guiding principle of his work. If he had been able to relinquish his deterministic evolutionism and salvage the natural-rights component of his philosophy, maybe then his last years would have been more bearable.

This self-taught man, a railway engineer by youthful profession, exhibited an astounding breadth of knowledge.

What should be most disturbing about *The Principles of Ethics* to modern libertarians, as Machan suggests, is Spencer's emergent willingness to relegate his "absolute" moral principles—that is, those principles of natural rights deduced from his first principle of equal freedom for everyone—to a far distant future in which man and environment would have become perfectly symbiotic. In such a society, people would be motivated by sympathy; consequently, governmental coercion would be almost completely eliminated. But until such a society evolves, said Spencer, a lower state of morality governed by merely "relative" ethical principles is acceptable and even necessary.

This severely crippled Spencer's advocacy of libertarian policies, for in a less than perfect world, blatant contraventions of individual liberty become theoretically excusable. Leaving policy aside and speaking only of the cogency of Spencer's philosophy, it is patently contradictory to designate natural rights as absolute moral principles and then to devolve into a relativistic morass in which it is not absolutely wrong to violate these same principles.

FEAR OF SOCIALISM

Recent critics have tended to view Spencer in his later years as increasingly mired in conservatism, having abandoned central tenets of his earlier radicalism. David Wiltshire, in *The Social and Political Thought of Herbert Spencer*, advances this charge, citing Spencer's backing off from his earlier commitment to an extended franchise, women's suffrage, and land nationalization. But in fact Spencer's later positions, with the possible exception of his repudiation of women's suffrage (on the ground that women are physiologically predisposed toward worship of the State), are in crucial ways more libertarian than his original commitments.

While in *Social Statics* Spencer embraced an enlarged franchise, by 1867 and the Second Reform Bill his enthusiasm had paled. Why? His overarching principle here was that of individual freedom, and on pragmatic grounds he concluded that extending the franchise to the lower classes would accelerate the decline into State socialism. For him, voting *per se* was merely a second-order good; if voters chose to elect representatives who would erode liberty, then to hell with voting.

On the question of land nationalization, beginning in the 1880s Spencer began to retreat from the excesses of his *Social Statics* days, in which he had declared private property to be a violation of his fundamental principle of equal freedom. By the time he wrote *Justice*, he had almost completely recanted. While communal ownership is right in principle (that is, presumably, in absolute ethics) it is impractical in the real world because it would require impossible amounts of compensation. Thus, much to the chagrin of land nationalizers such as Henry George, Spencer formed an informal alliance with the Tories of the Liberty and Property Defense League.

By modern libertarian criteria—Hillel

(*Continued on p. 55.*)

UNDERCUTTING EGALITARIANISM

BY WALLACE I. MATSON

Two new books expose dogmas that rationalize the attempt to make everyone equal

A Rational Animal and Other Philosophical Essays on the Nature of Man

By Antony Flew.
Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1978.
245 pp. $14.95.

Beast and Man: The Roots of Human Nature

By Mary Midgley.
Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
1978. 377 pp. $12.50.

When at last we have achieved perfect justice,

- *The primary business of government will be the payment of reparations to the lazy, the stupid, and the vicious for the dirty deal they got in being born and brought up that way.*
- *Citizens will pay no more attention to other people's sex than they now do to their eye color—not even when deciding whom to make love to.*

Archie Bunker might guess that the preceding emanated from a mescaline potlatch in some commune out in the California chaparral. But those in the know will recognize in them major pronunciamentos of eminent Establishment intellectuals, professors of philosophy and of law in prestigious universities, listened to respectfully not only by other professors but by the federal judges who have taken it upon themselves to set social policy. While there is no simple explanation for the prevalence of such gospels, still, insofar as they can be said to have logical support, they lean heavily on two props.

One is what we may call the No-Choice Dogma: the view that man is a machine. In the late-20th-century version of this 18th-century insight, man is a digital computer. He is a piece of hardware (genetic constitution) with a lot of input channels for the culture to feed software (data and programs) into. His output (action) follows of necessity; his feeling that he chooses what to do, if he has that feeling, is illusory. So nobody can ever help doing exactly what he does do. Therefore nobody deserves anything, really. Fairness then requires Society to divvy everything up equally, subject only to such modifications as may lamentably be absolutely necessary in order to keep the producers producing something.

The second proposition of advanced social thought is the No-Nature Dogma: unlike the beasts, the human animal has no repertoire of instinctive behavior worth mentioning. "Intelligence has replaced instinct": all human behavior is learned—that is, socially conditioned. Given an effective training procedure, any kind of behavior whatsoever can become "natural," just as pigeons can be taught to play ping-pong. Deplorable propensities such as aggressiveness result from bad social conditions; reform society so that they are removed, and presto change-o—the aggressiveness will disappear. Traits now rare but required by truly enlightened morality, such as complete bisexuality, can be made universal once the social engineer is granted enough money and power. You *can* change human nature—or, more accurately, there is no human nature to change, really.

These dogmas are in direct opposition to the Aristotelian view of man. According to the Philosopher, life is a business

of making choices; virtue is the disposition to choose rightly; and what the right choice is, must be determined by a study of human nature: what kind of animal man is, what he needs to bring to fruition the potentialities peculiar to the species. The first debate between the two conceptions of man took place when Aristotle criticized Plato's proposals to abolish private property, marriage, and the family, on the ground that doing so would deprive human beings of their most fundamental motivations in a futile attempt to turn them into a sort of mammalian bee.

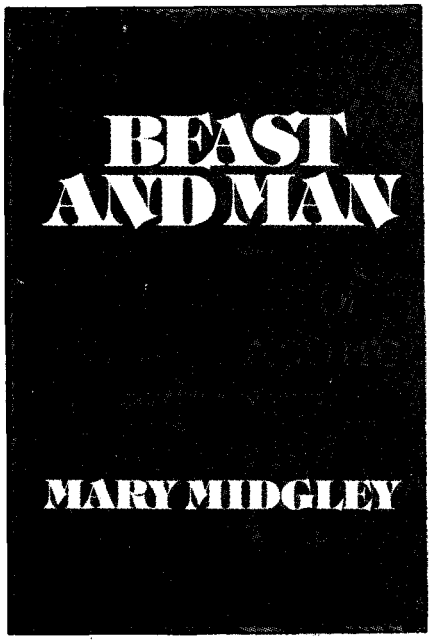
The books under review are, in different ways, Aristotelian counterattacks against these two fashionable dogmas. Midgley primarily takes on No-Nature, while Flew seeks to vindicate the reality of choice.

NATURAL MORALITY

Mary Midgley, who is professor of philosophy at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne, is a woman of great courage. Opposition to the No-Nature dogma nowadays incurs the fanatical hatred that leaders of thought formerly reserved for religious heresy. Nevertheless, she goes calmly ahead in the spirit of Aristotle, whose method in the *Ethics*, she says, is exactly the one she is trying to follow. "He understands morality as the expression of natural human needs."

And light on what natural human needs are is shed, she believes, by the ethologists—those Bad Guys of the No-Nature dogmatists—Morris, Lorenz, Tinbergen, Eibl-Eibesfeldt, and chief of all Edward Wilson (who, however, calls himself a "sociobiologist"). She by no means accepts all their conclusions uncritically, administering in particular some well-deserved rebukes to Wilson for his scientific imperialism that would let the new science of sociobiology "cannibalize" psychology and ethics, for his too-Hobbesian critique of altruism, and for his lapses into "crude and unregenerate" behaviorism.

But she repeatedly defends him against political attacks from the *New York Review of Books* crowd, toward whose motives she is perhaps too lenient when she suggests that they may be afraid "that any notion of inborn active and social tendencies, if extended to man, threatens human freedom." She adds: "The notion that we 'have a nature,' far from threatening the concept of freedom, is absolutely essential to it. If we were genuinely plastic and indeterminate at birth, there could be no reason why society should not stamp us into any shape that might suit it." Indeed there is not, and a less sympathetic assessment of No-Nature motives would suggest enthusiasm for totalitarian social engineering, not tender concern for freedom, as the principal ingredient.



Midgley's is a wonderful book—sensible, wise, witty, written with beautiful clarity.

Midgley's critical review and summation of ethological research is sufficient to convince any unprejudiced reader that man does indeed have a nature. She does not try to put her conception of that nature into a few words, warning us salutarily that living creatures are "quite unlike mathematical terms, whose essence really can be expressed in a simple definition." Most of her book is devoted to working out the conception in detail. The guiding idea is the wholeness of human nature, partial examples of which are the interdependence of reason and feeling and the surprisingly close connection between aggressiveness and capacity for loving.

Following Eibl-Eibesfeldt, Midgley shows how many distinctively human attitudes and preoccupations are understandable as derived from the basic fact that we are creatures who are by instinct caring for our offspring. Perhaps Plato could be excused for having supposed that we could eliminate this whole aspect of our lives, which he deemed responsible for so much mischief, and still retain, indeed enhance, our better sides; but only willful ignorance can account for similar proposals by the "moral surgeons" (Midgley's apt phrase) of our times. "Central factors in us *must* be accepted, and the right line of human conduct must lie somewhere within the range they allow."

CHOICES AND REASONS

In keeping with the Aristotelian approach, Midgley holds that values are based on wants, and ethical questions are to be resolved by attending carefully to those wants, assigning priorities by the exercise of good judgment—not arbitrarily, but in accordance with our nature. We have to make choices; nothing can get us off that hook; the Existentialists are right in their "acceptance of responsibility for being as we have made ourselves, the refusal to make bogus excuses." But they are wrong, indeed absurd, in claiming that we make ourselves "out of nothing."

But how *can* we make real choices, if everything has a cause, everything is determined? (The No-Choice dogma.) Midgley's treatment of this question, which she admits "will not suit everybody," is "brutally short," incidental to a discussion of genetic determination. "Reasons and causes," she writes, "are parallel ways of explaining conduct. They do not compete." And with that she turns to the "practical" advice to "treat oneself as free and other people as determined." We shall return to this topic in connection with Flew's book.

Understanding of human action must be in terms of motives (reasons), not of causes. Midgley is particularly good in illustrating this point by asking, "What do we mean if we say that Smith laughed at somebody?" To understand what laughing *is* you have to be capable, yourself, of laughing. And "frowning, weeping, smiling, waving, pouting, bowing, nodding, stamping, slouching, grunting, and so forth are *not* just names for bodily movements, but for those movements carried out with certain general kinds of feeling or intention." Nevertheless, these activities can be the subject of truly scientific study—although not of physics or physiology.

In the culminating chapters Midgley shows with marvelous perceptiveness how man's special traits—language, reason, culture—grow out of, and complete, the "underlying emotional structure in which we so much resemble other species." Throughout the book emphasis is

on the continuity of the genus *Homo* with the other animals—and when it is observed that chimpanzees have not only learned to converse in Ameslan but have taught themselves to swear, who can deny it!

This is a wonderful book—sensible, wise, witty, written with beautiful clarity. The world will be a better place if Midgley is as widely read in our day as Benedict and Mead were a generation ago.

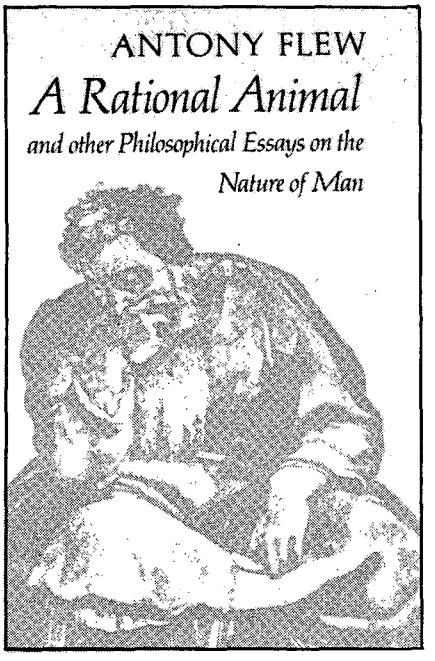
FREEDOM DEFENDED

Now to Flew's new book. Antony Flew, professor of philosophy at the University of Reading, is or ought to be well known to readers of REASON. He is one of the most consistent, dogged, and—the word must be brought out of retirement to honor him—heroic defenders of freedom in the world today. Not just nonce freedoms, but the basics—to think as you please, to run your own life, including your economic life, to investigate even topics such as the genetic component of intelligence. And, in this book, metaphysical freedom: the reality of choice.

A Rational Animal, unlike *Beast and Man*, is a collection of previously published essays (now extensively rewritten, the author assures us) on various people and topics: Darwin, Malthus, Hume, Sartre, Skinner, Freud, Lenin; historical necessity, free will/determinism, mind/brain, the explanation of action. But they are (mostly) unified by a common concern to vindicate the reality of human choice.

Free will, over which statisticians tell us more ink has been spilled than any other philosophical problem, calls forth in our era less frenzied emotions than does the No-Nature dogma and its denial. After so many centuries, discussion has become rather technical. There is not just one but a whole array of alternatives to the No-Choice position. But Flew takes his stand at the extreme opposite end: we do make real choices; making choices always presupposes that we could have chosen otherwise; but if every event, including our choosing, has a determining cause, then we never could have chosen otherwise; therefore, not every event has a determining cause.

This is an uncomfortable position to take, at any rate for a nonreligious thinker like Flew, for it seems to imply that man is discontinuous from the rest of nature, in which universal causality reigns—an implication that Flew denies when he says that "there cannot have been any gross discontinuities in the development of humankind from nonhuman ancestors." But Flew thinks the facts force this conclusion on him. We *do* (sometimes) make free choices: that is guaranteed, Flew thinks, by our frequently making obviously true statements such as, "Dick and Jane got married of their own free will." And that certainly means they could have chosen *not* to get married.



Antony Flew is one of the most consistent, dogged, and heroic defenders of freedom in the world today.

Here, many a philosopher would interject that "could have" is short for "could have *if*..."—for example, if Lulu had unexpectedly arrived back in town, or if Jane had taken more to heart her mother's warnings of Dick's philandering nature, or if... In which case it would still be true to say that they could have remained celibate, even if the causes that actually existed determined them to get married. But Flew will have none of this: "*even given those same conditions*, that agent, in our fundamental sense, could have done otherwise" (emphasis added). "The upshot seems to be that there cannot be laws of nature which embrace the behaviour of agents as such." This, says Flew, is "the decisive objection to the programme of assimilating explanation in the social sciences to explanation in the natural sciences."

QUANDARY

Flew's conclusion is no doubt right: to the extent that they ape physics by talking of "laws," etc., the social sciences merely degenerate into triviality and irrelevance; there is no reason to be ashamed of reason and motive talk. But I think Flew is right for the wrong reason.

To be sure, Luther, when he said that he could do no other, "was presupposing that, in the most fundamental sense, he could!" He could have capitulated. And he could have, even given the same conditions, *external to Luther*. But surely common sense and Flew part company if the latter goes on to claim, as I (perhaps wrongly) take him to be claiming, that there would still have been an open possibility of his recanting even if his particular-at-that-moment attitude, brain condition, metabolism, digestion, and everything else had also been exactly the same.

Moreover, Flew fails to point out that the phrase "could have done otherwise" has uses with reference to machines and inanimate objects: the missile could have shot down the bomber (though it didn't); the earthquake was so severe that the dam could have burst. "Analysis" of sentences like these might tell us something about the "could have" of human agency.

Where does this leave us? Right back in the old quandary, I'm afraid. But perhaps a more fruitful approach would be to regard "could have done otherwise," not as a piece of retrospective metaphysical speculation, but as a reminder of possession of an ability which, God willing, will be more happily exercised on the next go. Which brings us back to Mrs. Midgley's practical advice.

LESSONS OF ETHOLOGY

It comes as a disappointment that Flew's few remarks concerning ethology are, on the whole, hostile and dismissive. They come at the end of his essay on Darwin, in a few pages "recycled" (Flew's word) from reviews of books by Desmond Morris.

While admitting that "the enormous and ever-accelerating environmental changes of the last ten thousand years or so have not been accompanied by any significant mutational additions to the human gene pool, as opposed to distributional changes within it," Flew nevertheless rebukes Morris for "a systematic depreciation of environment as opposed to heredity, of what is learnt as opposed to what is instinctual." It is a "perverse presentation," Flew contends, "minimizing precisely what one would expect any biologist to pick out as the most remark-

able peculiarities of our species—the extraordinarily long period between birth and maturity, the incomparable capacity for learning. This learning capacity, together with its main instrument and expression, language, provides our unique species with an excellent substitute for the inheritance of acquired characteristics."

Moreover, Flew protests, "evolution implies changes: if, therefore, this evolved from that, then that is not now, and cannot be, the same as this. In a word: oaks are not, and cannot be, really acorns; and civilized men—whether for better or for worse—are not, and cannot be, really primitive apes."

It is strange that Flew, at the conclusion of a brilliant essay vindicating Darwin's scientific procedures and mode of explanation, should fall even momentarily into speaking of "apes" in a derogatory tone reminiscent of Bishop Wilberforce and that he should invent the totally anti-Darwinian analogy—apes : men :: seeds : plants. Even worse: dismissing with a wave of the hand all the lessons of ethology as if they were only creations of Morris's overblown rhetoric, he comes dangerously close to embracing the neo-Lysenkoism that he so justifiably denounced 12 pages back. We come from an animal background, alas (Flew is telling us), but happily, education can change all that.

True enough, we—you and I and Flew—are not "apes" (read, presumably, *Eoanthropi*), and while we can make our way in cities, plunked down in the jungle we would starve if we weren't eaten first. But so would the baby *Eoanthropus*. Surviving as a hunter and food-gatherer is not easy; it takes a long time to get the hang of it, and for at least 99.7 percent of man's sojourn on the planet, his and her extraordinarily long period between birth and maturity, and incomparable capacity for learning, have been devoted to just that. Nowadays, to be sure, they are devoted instead to business administration, driver education, and the aesthetics of the film.

The ethologist's point, however, remains valid: to these changed tasks the civilized child still brings the attitudes, motives, and value framework built into the germ plasm through 150,000 generations of tribal hunting. That is what makes so poignant Morris's comparison (which displeases Flew) of college graduations to tribal initiations. And that is what educational and political theorists have ignored, and brought us to disaster by ignoring.

There is, of course, ever so much more to say about Flew's book. But I would rather conclude by quoting at some length from the splendid remarks on justice in the brief Epilogue, which are not irrelevant to the famous enlightened view that I paraphrased at the beginning of this review:

Whatever may or may not be true of that new fangled party political shuttlecock social justice, traditional without-prefix-or-suffix justice is a matter of people getting and keeping, and allowing or helping others to get and to keep, their various and often different deserts and entitlements: 'Suum cuique tribuere'; which, being translated, is 'To each their [sic] due'. What is thus due is frequently disputatious. But certainly it must always depend at least in part upon the peculiarities of the individual. People are entitled to, though they have not earned and may not even need, parts of their own bodies: where half the people are born with two eyes and half with none it is charity not justice which requires that the two-eyed make one of their eyes available for transplant. . . .

We have here the beginnings perhaps of another book. So let this one end with the suggestion that egalitarians. . . should, albeit at the cost of sacrificing a powerful propaganda advantage, present their profoundly authoritarian, illiberal and bureaucratic ideal as, what it truly is, a rival to what they should see as the reactionary, backward-looking, anomalous, gothic notion of justice. . . . □

Wallace Matson is a professor of philosophy at the University of California at Berkeley. He is the author of several books, most recently, of Sentience.

E. Paul

(Continued from p. 51.)

Steiner posing a conspicuous exception—Spencer's later stand on property is more acceptable, yet still flawed. While Lockeanism on property rights is manifested in *Social Statics*—Spencer allows for the legitimacy of ownership of goods that one has created through labor—this element of his thought is incompatible with land nationalization. What bothered Spencer was his apprehension that almost all land had been originally acquired by coercive means—a legitimate concern, considering English history. Anyway, on the land question Locke is preferable to Spencer.

What motivated Spencer, then, in his abandonment of land nationalization and universal suffrage was his abiding fear of creeping State control over the lives of individuals. Certainly, modern liberal statists would consider this a manifestation of the hardening and incipient senility that comes of an embittered old age. But Spencer, despite his inconsistencies and rigidities, was denouncing the right enemy.

At the time of his demise in 1903 it is lamentably true that he was one of the few men left in England who was aware of the peril. For this alone, Spencer deserves our consideration and appreciation, even if his evolutionary underpinnings prove philosophically unacceptable and often contradictory to his fundamental individualism. □

Ellen Paul teaches political science at Miami University, in Ohio, and is the author of Moral Revolution and Economic Science *(Greenwood Press, 1979).*

Coming Next Month:

REASON begins the new year with a hard-headed look at the energy mess. While we're all aware of the synthetic fuels boondoggle, what about those other highly touted alternatives, gasohol and solar power? Are they practical, economical alternatives or pie-in-the-sky dreams dependent on heavy subsidies? REASON authors Samuel Blumenfeld and R. W. Johnson separate fact from fancy to provide you with answers. And economist Robert J. Michaels provides a refreshing dissent from the whole notion of Carter's energy war. Also in the issue is attorney Don Franzen's chronicle of the federal government's persecution of Wilhelm Reich and Wendy Grosscup's revealing portrait of the little-known political side of Oscar Wilde. Plus Jim Davidson's Viewpoint, Tim Condon's Taxes column, and all of REASON's regular departments and features.

King

(Continued from p. 32.)

which seem explicitly invented to hide the absence of argument at a crucial point? To be sure, the natural-rights tradition is in need of contemporary reinterpretation, but inventions such as "indecency" await original defense as basic moral categories.

"CREEPY" CRITICISMS

A very interesting article by Robert Paul Wolff, a well-known, nonlibertarian anarchist, illustrates another tendency of Nozick's critics. It seems that many even among those critics who have taken Nozick seriously and have worked carefully in arguing against him feel a special need to disassociate themselves from him morally as though they might be contaminated by the very exercise of considering his views.

Wolff's essay in the Arizona volume, "Robert Nozick's Derivation of the Minimal State," is a very able attack upon Nozick's attempt to show that a minimal state would arise from a state of nature by permissible steps. Wolff presents a careful internal critique of Nozick's argument. Space does not allow a full exposition here, and the point I wish to make does not require such exposition, anyway. Suffice it to say that Wolff's critique is probably the best thing I have seen on Nozick's argument against anarchism except for Eric Mack's essay in the recent *Nomos* volume on anarchism.

Nevertheless, Wolff adds at the end of his paper a section titled "On the Weirdness of *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*"! In that section Wolff calls Nozick's work "creepy"—for its attempt to bring the "rationalizing" language of economics and game theory to bear on moral and social questions that have not been "rationalized" (and should not be) as capitalism has "rationalized" productive and economic questions. In passing, he tars James Buchanan and Gordon Tullock with the same brush. Now, I can easily see why many thinkers would not want to "rationalize" moral thought, since their mystic holdovers from other times would have to be given up. Nonetheless, Wolff's attack on Nozick is itself bizarre, apparently based on a desire not just to argue against Nozick (which he has done well) but to read him entirely out of court.

Wolff is certainly not the only critic to take this tack, nor is he by any means the worst. I can understand such inclinations only as a reaction to having been forced to take Nozick's individualist views so seriously. Most academics still entertain a gut-level hatred for individualist and libertarian views, however much they may have to acknowledge them as live options these days.

Finally, I turn to what I see as the most important philosophic reaction to Nozick's work. I shall mention no specific article here, since many of them touch on what is at issue. Three interrelated points attract the chief attention of those who wish to argue against Nozick's contention that any State more extensive than his minimal State would violate people's rights. The first is his failure to provide a detailed defense of the rights on which he bases his argument. As a result of this point, supporters of a bloated State zero in on two others—Nozick's remarks concerning the Lockean Proviso (that individuals have a right to justly acquired property unless they hold an exclusive monopoly on it) and his admission that rectification of past injustice might require temporarily a more than minimal State.

Again and again in the volumes under consideration, one finds remarks Nozick makes in discussing these points seized upon in order to show that even *his* principles do not really support a government, or a set of duties, as meager as he thinks. In fact, I believe that Nozick's positions on the proviso and rectification are unsatisfactory and must be given up, but the questions are complex, and I cannot possibly discuss them here. Rather, I want to point out how surely Nozick's opponents believe that they have found weaknesses here that undermine much if not all of his libertarian stand.

This fact brings us back to overall assessment of Nozick's importance for libertarianism five years after *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*. Curiously, in spite of my insistence on the great benefits all libertarian philosophers have reaped from the publication of *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*, I must admit that at present Nozick is a mixed blessing. Statist critics believe with some justice that they have drawn much blood in attacking his lack of a theory of rights and his treatments of rectification and the proviso. Unlike John Rawls, whose *Theory of Justice* has been subjected to much criticism, Nozick has chosen to make no reply at all to critics. When one adds to this the fact that most academic critics treat Nozick almost as though he were the only living libertarian, one arrives at the result that many critics feel that they have scored heavily against libertarianism and that their criticism remains unanswered.

Thus, I conclude that we are in a crucial and dangerous time for libertarianism in regard to academic philosophy. Unless either Nozick himself or other libertarian philosophers soon provide convincing answers to these critics, and succeed in getting their attention (which may be the more difficult task), Nozick's bold attempt may be regarded as a flash-in-the-pan, and libertarianism may again be generally ignored by most philosophers. ◻

Charles King is a professor of philosophy at Pomona College. He is currently on leave for some intensive studying of economics at the Virginia Polytechnic Institute.

West

(Continued from p. 30.)

last some effective communication between them and their customer-patrons. Coons, Sugarman, Friedman—what's the difference? They all unite under this particular flag.

As for the present book's eloquent words of championship of the family, the authors' resemble those of Sir Robert Lowe, the 19th-century follower of Adam Smith and chancellor of the exchequer under Gladstone's government:

> *Parents have one great superiority over the Government or the administrators of [school] endowments. Their faults are mainly the corrigible faults of ignorance, not of apathy and prejudice. They have and feel the greatest interest in doing that which is for the real benefit of their children. They are the representatives of the present, the living and acting energy of a nation, which has ever owed its sure and onward progress to individual efforts than to public control and direction. They have the wish to arrive at a true conclusion, the data are before them, they must be the judges in the last resort, why should we shrink from making them judges at once?* ◻

E. G. West teaches at Carlton University, in Ottawa. He is the author of many books on education, including Economics, Education and the Politician *and* Education and the State.

Flew

(Continued from p. 24.)

siter, dismiss all evidence of this change with a knee-jerk reference to the very dead and unlamented Sen. Joe McCarthy.

Take one straw to show Americans the direction in which the winds of change are blowing. A year or two ago the AFL-CIO entertained and honored Alexander Solzhenitsyn. In that same year the British TUC, with scarcely one dissenting vote, chose similarly to wine and dine Alexander Shelepin. As a former director of the KGB, Shelepin had been jailer of the Gulag Archipelago; and, at that time, he was state-appointed boss of the Soviet *arbeitsfront*.

Again, a decisive majority of the present National Executive Committee of the Labour Party, put into their places by card votes cast by those same union bureaucrats, are now people who regularly rally to the support of the Communist Party newspaper *Morning Star*, broadcast for Moscow Radio or its satellites, and generally show that their only reason for being in the Labour rather than the Communist Party is that they see the former as being—what indeed it now is—a far more effective instrument for enforcing the same ideals. (Hugh Scanlon, recently retired leader of the engineering union, always gave precisely this as his own reason for leaving the Communist and joining the Labour Party.)

So it is not surprising that the Labour Party has taken to exchanging fraternal delegations with the Soviet, East German, and other ruling Communist Parties. Nor that, when it sent a mission to Portugal after the military revolution there, that mission, including one of Mr. Callaghan's ministers, sided with the unreconstructed Stalinist Alvaro Cunhal and his Muscovite apparatniks rather than with the strongly socialist yet nevertheless still democratic party of Mario Soares. It is this sinister transformation, as well as a recognition of the ruinous results of the old policies, that has led the contributors to *Right Turn* into the arms of Mrs. Thatcher.

This right turn now includes some distinguished members. One contributor began the 1974 parliament as a Labour minister and is now in 1979 a member for a safe Conservative seat and may reach office once more. Another was at that same time editor of the socialist weekly *New Statesman* and has moved over to write far more effectively for the Conservatives. Lord George Brown, too, who had been deputy leader and foreign secretary under Harold Wilson, in the recent election begged voters to put Labour out. No other such shifts have occurred in British politics for at least my own more than 50 years. But let us have no optimistic exaggerations. The now highly volatile British mass electorate will soon in by-elections be voting socialist ultras back, while the great majority of leading members and supporters of the Labour Party, even those who well know the way it is going, will remain content to continue advancing their careers in and through the old firm.

Certainly Mrs. Thatcher and her team made it clear in the May election that a vote for the Conservatives was a vote for a sharp, last-chance change of course. But in their different ways, four of these five books show to what a near impossible task she, and they, and we are setting our hands. ◻

Antony Flew is a professor of philosophy at the University of Reading. He is the author of numerous books; a recent one, A Rational Animal, *is reviewed in this issue.*

A PERFECT GIFT: DELUXE REASON BINDERS

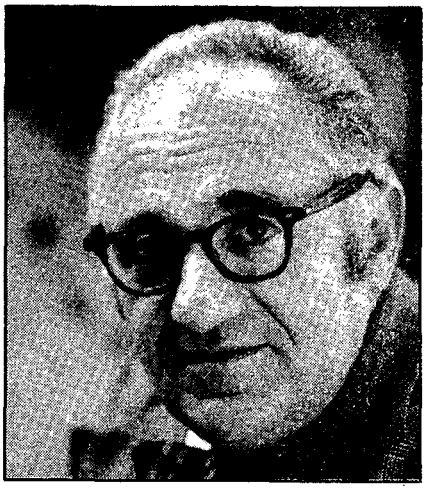
Specially designed binder holds a full 12 issues of REASON. Perfect for gifts — or for yourself. Place your order today!

Mail to: Reason Circulation Services, Box 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93103
Please send me ☐ Reason Binders $5.95 ea. ☐ 4 for $23.00
(Postage and handling included)
Orders outside U.S. add $1.00 per file for postage and handling.
Payment must accompany order. (CA residents add 6% sales tax)

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Is Liberty Enough?

viewpoint



Murray N. Rothbard

A decade ago, in the embryonic stages of the current libertarian movement, economist Walter Grinder wrote an important but unfortunately neglected article for a short-lived libertarian magazine. The theme of the article was "Liberty and Checkers." Grinder was reacting against the tendency, at even that early date in the movement, to complain that liberty is not enough of an issue, that setting men and women free to try to attain their goals without the crippling burden of coercion is not exciting enough to motivate many people. That freedom is too "negative" a concept, and that it does not suffice for mankind: that people need ethical and aesthetic principles to guide their lives.

Grinder's bracing response was to remind the movement that liberty is our only political goal; that indeed there are other, important as well as unimportant, ethical and aesthetic principles and values that people need and will adopt, but that these are irrelevant to politics and to liberty. Picking a deliberately frivolous example to dramatize his point, he noted that he personally might greatly like (or dislike) checkers, that he might wish to participate in a "movement" to foster and cultivate checkers, but that this personal value has nothing to do with libertarianism and should never be confused with the latter goal. The great historian Lord Acton put it succinctly when he wrote that liberty "is the highest political goal"—*political* goal; not necessarily or probably the highest goal, period, for each individual.

This does not mean, of course, that Acton, Grinder, I, or any other libertarians are only interested, as persons, in freedom and that none of us has any personal moral principles or valuational goals. Obviously, we all do. But many of them do, and always will, differ and even clash, and that's a crucial point. In the most valuable part of his *Anarchy, State, and Utopia,* Robert Nozick pointed out that—in contrast to all other, coercively imposed, utopias—the "utopia" promised by libertarianism is unique in setting everyone free so that individuals and groups can try, if they wish, to attain their various and differing utopias voluntarily. My personal moral principles may be right and yours may be wrong, but in a libertarian society I have neither the right nor the power to force you to adopt or obey those principles.

Libertarianism, in short, is and must be solely a political position, a creed solving the problems posed by politics. If it strays into other areas, then it begins to violate its own principles, since it will then wish to impose other values than liberty or nonaggression upon peaceful individuals.

Yes, that means that libertarianism does not and cannot satisfy many people's hunger for an all-embracing creed that will set down the "correct line" on all aspects of life, from questions of hedonism or asceticism, monogamy or promiscuity, thrift or extravagance, sobriety or fun, rock or classical music, Hitchcock or Fellini, or, indeed, poker or checkers. Note what I am *not* saying: I am not saying that a correct line does not or could not exist. It may very well. But even if it does, it is irrelevant to politics and to libertarianism. Or, to put it another way, the *only* "correct line" on politics is liberty, and the only proper sphere of libertarianism is the political arena.

But with the libertarian movement growing rapidly, we once again hear the siren song from many quarters that liberty is not enough. The latest spokesman for this point of view is Milton Mueller, executive director of Students for a Libertarian Society, the major libertarian group on college campuses. Over the last several months, Mueller has made clear his impatience with "Old Deal" libertarians who confine themselves to advocating the free market and "chanting" the concept of privatizing industries now operated or controlled by the government.

If we try to make sense of Mueller's tangled lucubrations, his criticism of "Old Dealers" in a recent issue of SLS's *Liberty* seems to boil down to this: liberty is not exciting enough because it doesn't supply new and challenging cultural values and because it doesn't offer its own vision of what a libertarian future would look like.

What precisely are the outlines of Mueller's proferred New Deal for the movement? Here, he is quite hazy, but I strongly suspect that Mueller's proposed cultural values will not be mine. So then what? Whose values will the movement adopt, and whose will be shoved down whose throats by the power of political action?

Mueller's other criticism is that Old Dealers simply want to get the government off our backs and out of our lives and that we envision the future libertarian world as essentially the present one relieved of the incubus of the State. He, on the other hand, apparently wants to present a positive vision of a libertarian future that will be completely new and different. How different, he doesn't say. But he comes perilously close to conjuring up a New Libertarian Man (or Woman), a human nature transformed in some magical way by living in a libertarian society. Perhaps Mueller believes with Godwin that in the new libertarian society man will be immortal, or with Fourier that the rivers will run with lemonade instead of water, or with Trotsky that in the new paradise "the average human type will rise to the heights of an Aristotle, a Goethe, or a Marx. And above this ridge new peaks will rise."

For my part, I have no crystal ball to tell me what a libertarian world would look like. But if I had to guess, I would bet that, yes, it would look pretty much like the present one, but of course with the significant difference that the crippling incubus of State coercion would be off our backs. And yes, to cap my Old Deal sins, I have to make an even more damning admission: with the crucial exception of government coercion, I am indeed pretty happy with the world as it

(*Continued on p. 62.*)

spotlight

Pushing Decriminalization

The National Institute on Drug Abuse estimates that 43 million Americans have tried marijuana. Seventy percent of the United States' drug arrests involve the weed—nearly 3 million since 1970, with enforcement costs of over $600 million annually. Doing away with the laws restricting its use would affect the lives of many Americans. One individual fighting to remove all criminal penalties for possession or use of marijuana is Gordon Brownell.

Though bearded, Brownell, 35 years old, has the demeanor and dress of a business executive. Brought up in a conservative Republican family, a former Nixon aide, and a former Reaganite, he seems an unlikely leader of the decriminalization movement. Yet since 1974 he has served as the West Coast chairman of the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws (NORML) and a member of its national board.

Brownell, however, sees no philosophical inconsistency in these different stands, although he admits to a change in emphasis.

It was Barry Goldwater's book *The Conscience of a Conservative* that served as his political primer and interested him in conservative Republican principles. He was attracted by Goldwater's "emphasis on individual freedom and small government." And, he says, "that basic libertarian strain within me...is as consistent as when I was active with Goldwater and Nixon and Reagan and now what I am doing with NORML and the marijuana issue."

What led him to fight for the repeal of drug laws? "No single event," he says. "I got personally involved with it because I am a drug user myself....I don't like being criminalized by virtue of what drugs or substances I choose to use, and I don't like to see the same thing happen to other people. I have had a number of friends who have been tremendously mistreated by our legal and justice systems because of their misfortune of having been arrested and jailed for marijuana possession."

Brownell, a 1969 graduate of Fordham Law School, first became active in the anti-drug-law movement during a brief stay in Washington, D.C., in 1971. At that time he became acquainted with Pete Stoff, the founder of NORML, "and through Pete got to know people in California." He started out as the statewide political organizer for Amorphia's 1972 marijuana initiative in California, which received 34 percent of the vote. By 1973 he was elected president of Amorphia—a countercultural version of NORML—and became NORML's West Coast chairman when the two groups merged in 1974.

Brownell thinks that a historical perspective is important in gaining people's support for decriminalizing or legalizing drugs. He emphasizes marijuana's medical uses, its relative harmlessness, and legalization's effect on usage. He leaves aside the issue of individual rights because he believes "it is a lot easier to deal

Cynthia Johnston

Gordon Brownell

with questions as to why the laws should be repealed if you have an understanding of where they came from and realize that they were a tremendous mistake to begin with."

What about "harder drugs," then, which do not possess the redeeming qualities he attributes to marijuana? His answer brings rights into the picture: "Whether our choice of recreational drugs is alcohol or marijuana or cocaine or heroin or LSD, the fundamental principle is the same. Which is as long as we are not doing anything which is endangering someone else, then what drugs we choose to use and the effects they have on us is really a decision that each of us should make for ourselves."

Brownell recognizes the danger of arguing from marijuana's innocuousness. "If we premised everything on the fact that it is harmless, and if it turned out not to be as harmless as people believe, then that would undermine the reasons and the rationale for changing the laws."

In 1980 Brownell will lead the second attempt to pass an initiative in California. The partial decriminalization would remove all criminal penalties for possession, cultivation, and nonprofit sale of pot for personal use. He predicts that it has "a very good chance of getting on the ballot, and I would like to think that we have a good chance of winning passage here in California." It will take $75,000 to get on the ballot, he estimates, and another $500,000 to $1 million for the campaign. Unlike 1972, when polls showed 25 percent supporting the initiative at the beginning of the campaign, recent polls show some 40 percent in favor. "Quite a few voters are undecided," he says, "and the task of the campaign and marijuana reform activism generally is to make people aware that removing the laws prohibiting marijuana use is not going to have any great effect at all on marijuana usage patterns or the effects of marijuana smoking."

Total decriminalization would mean that governments would have no say over what people do with marijuana. The initiative backed by NORML excludes commercial sales because, says Brownell, "there is not popular support to totally legalize the sale in California, and even if there was, it is prohibited by both federal and international law."

Brownell feels restrained optimism about the future. He says, "This year is the first nonelection year since 1971 where we have not had a decriminalization bill passed anywhere in the country, and it is clear that the decriminalization effort has been slowed nationally over the course of the last couple of years. We are going to concentrate a lot of effort in other states to try to reverse that and start building momentum once again. We are also going to try to focus on marijuana medical legislation and we're hoping to have at least 20, maybe 25, states by the end of next year where people can legally use it for medical purposes." Next year's marijuana initiative in California, if successful, will get government out of one area of people's lives and could get the ball rolling for nationwide decriminalization efforts.

—John R. Lott

movies

• Escape from Alcatraz • The Amityville Horror • North Dallas Forty
• Picnic at Hanging Rock • Max Havelaar • Soldier of Orange

• The title **ESCAPE FROM ALCATRAZ** gives away the whole plot. A few prisoners did escape from Alcatraz in 1961 and were never heard from again. The film tries to flesh out this meager story line, but the material is so thin that there isn't even very much suspense. Clint Eastwood is even more taciturn than usual. What is most unsatisfying about his role (along with all the others) is that we don't get to know him at all: we know nothing of what got him there; what he did, if anything, to deserve prison; or even how long he is sentenced to remain. When he checks into Alcatraz we don't know whether to sympathize with him or with those who put him there. And we get so little of a handle on him that by film's end we still don't know, and by that time we are likely to be too bored to care. How did a respectable actor like Clint Eastwood get sold on such a dumb story?

—John Hospers

• If someone represents himself to you as a trustworthy friend and then cons you out of something of value to you, then later appears again on the scene trying to repeat the same old trick, your response includes not only a rejection of his ploy but the feeling that your intelligence is being insulted. That is the kind of feeling one has in viewing **THE AMITYVILLE HORROR**. One piece of cheap gimmickry follows another, until one finally concludes that continued presence in the theater could be construed as collusion in insulting one's intelligence. Beginning as a story of a haunted house, it has a strong strain of witchcraft and devil worship, and appears to be an attempt (quite hopelessly unsuccessful) to imitate *The Exorcist*. One difference is that in *Exorcist* everything is explained by the time one reaches the end—why it happens the way it does and not some other way—whereas in *Amityville* everything is still rather mysterious at the end, and the particular manifestations of the "haunter" make no sense at all: all they have in common is that they can be produced by the special-effects department at no great cost.

The book from which the film is taken claims to be based on fact. But the only genuine facts in the case may be those presented by the current owners of that same house: that there has been no disturbance whatever, not so much as a creak, and that the attempt by the previous owners to say differently was itself a piece of publicity-seeking gimmickry.

—J. H.

• There is a certain hitherto unrecorded "slice of life" that **NORTH DALLAS FORTY** vividly sets before us: what it's like to be a player in professional football—the pressures from the financial backers, the drugs administered intravenously to desensitize one to pain, the hurts and bone-breaks that make one a candidate for arthritis later, and most of all the pain and weariness one experiences more and more with every year that one continues in this profession. All of this is excellently captured by Nick Nolte, with a certain infectious joie de vivre that mingles very credibly with the hurt and bitterness; and his characterization, rather complex and done to perfection, is the best thing in the film.

Whether it was all worth doing is another question. The film is certainly not inspiring or uplifting, nor is it more than occasionally amusing, and its episodic nature prevents one from being swept away toward a denouement. More than anything else it is just informative —a dubious virtue for a film as opposed to a newsreel. Those who want particularly to know what life is like from the point of view of the player will find it rewarding to see; other viewers may be more inclined to say, "So what?"

—J. H.

• One by one the films of director Peter Weir are trickling in from Australia, though five years in the case of **PICNIC AT HANGING ROCK** is a long time to wait. But it's well worth waiting for. The same exquisite sensitivity, the muted color, the low-key drama spiraling outward to tap new sources of mysterious power—these, plus the flawless use of atmospheric music and subtle shifting changes of mood, are as evident here as they were in *The Last Wave*.

The film is based on a historical incident: a group of girls leave a picnic party at Hanging Rock, a moody and mysterious-looking rock formation in the Australian outback; they wander off onto parts of the great rock and are never seen again. The event occurred in 1900, and to this day the mystery of their disappearance has never been solved, no clues ever found. The sharp contrast between the highly disciplined girls' school and the vastness of wild nature beyond suggests reasons why the girls may have wanted to venture out on the rock and that their failure to return was somehow connected with forces deeply and powerfully repressed in the human psyche. But everything is done through suggestion, and while playing with possible clues we learn a good deal about the psyches of the girls themselves.

If someone said that you could enjoy a mystery story that had no solution, you would be understandably skeptical. But this film has been so beautifully fleshed out with mood and atmosphere and psychological overtones that the absence of a solution to the mystery can be viewed as anything from mildly painful to (almost) an irrelevance. The thing to do with Weir's films is to submerge your intellect and let the shifting waves of sensation and feeling roll over you and engulf you—and then at a certain point the intellect will assert itself again, accelerated because of the rest. At any rate, it is quite a unique cinematic experience.

—J. H.

• **MAX HAVELAAR**, one of the few Dutch pictures made (spoken in Dutch and in native Indonesian languages, with English titles), brings back memories of a kind of film that was often made in the past but has gone out of fashion—an elaborate historical drama, set in an exotic part of the world, painstaking in re-creation of historical detail from uniforms to geography, somewhat leisurely in its pace and wide in its sweep. In this sense it is an old-fashioned film, nostalgically exciting. But it is also more than a historical saga of the Dutch East Indies in the empire days of the 1850s; it is also a document of intense social protest against the abuse of authority and what happens when people hold the lives of others in their hands. The contrast between the psalm-singing Dutch in a Netherlands church and what really goes on in their Far Eastern colony is enough to make any viewer a revolutionary. Yet it is not entirely an anticolonialist film, since the local native viceregents are even worse than the Dutch overlords.

If anyone needs to appreciate the dif-

ference between economic power (power to produce for man's material needs) and political power (power over the lives of other human beings), this picture will illustrate it dramatically. If anyone wants to see why a libertarian president would, under present conditions, be thrown out of office within a year, this picture shows why.

Whether the film satisfies you will depend on what you expect from movies. Like *The Deer Hunter*, this one is (almost) three hours long; but unlike it, this one is more sprawling and episodic, with more pageantry and set speeches. *Havelaar* shows you visually what injustice and exploitation are like; *Deer Hunter* not only shows you its subject (the Vietnam war) but makes you feel it through every pore, moment after merciless moment, until it reduces you to pulp. *Deer Hunter* is by a hundredfold the more powerful picture; yet it is so intense that not everyone can view it with aesthetic distance, and for them the gentler pace and the slow, steady accumulation of detail of *Havelaar* may be more satisfying—particularly when enriched with memories of Jean Renoir's *The River* and Stefan Zweig's *Amok*.

—J. H.

• Another new film from Holland, also a long one, is **SOLDIER OF ORANGE.** It will be much more popular with American audiences than *Max Havelaar*, partly because it really is a first-rate job of filmmaking, full of drama and excitement, and partly because its subject matter is one to which Americans and Europeans still resonate strongly—the Nazi occupation of Europe in World War II.

It is surprising, considering all that Holland endured in the Nazi occupation, that no major film concerning it has yet come out of that country. It is still the main topic of conversation among my relatives in Holland, some of whom died in the occupation, some of whom survived in the underground, and some of whom lived on in spite of near-starvation and systematic looting of their possessions. This film at last brings it all out in the open—the preludes to war, the anti-Semitism even in Holland (whose citizens also housed Anne Frank), the day of the invasion, the horrors of the occupation, the risks taken in the resistance movement, the secret and highly dangerous trips to England, and most of all the constant suspicion—never knowing who was friend and who was enemy, who was loyal and who had sold out or collaborated, to protect Jewish relatives.

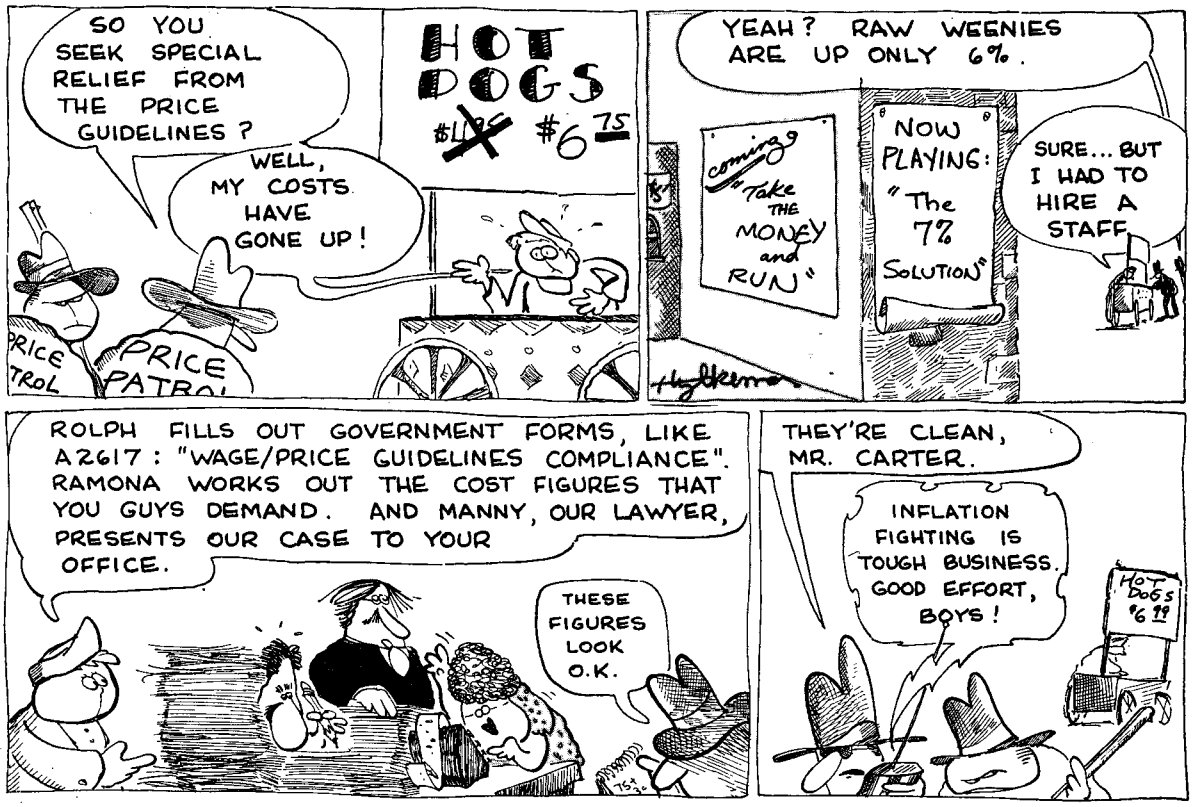
The powerful French film *Les Guichets du Louvre* (translated as *Black Thursday*) of a few years ago, about Nazis rounding up the Jewish population of Paris, had a more concentrated thrust. But it was too depressing for most audiences.

This film, however, is not depressing. On the contrary, it is heroic in stature, and in spite of the realistic depiction of the war one emerges from it (quite unlike *A Bridge Too Far*) with a kind of emotional catharsis. The characterizations are laid with great care, starting with prewar events in 1938, and the story is concerned at least as much with character as with plot—and because of this, when a character goes on a dangerous mission we feel a strong sense of identification and suspense, as if it were a member of our own family. There is also a gutsy sense of humor pervading the film; and with a fine sense of timing, comic situations arise—not contrived, but growing out of the character. As the occupation, at first not terribly severe, tightens around the populace, the occasional leavening by humor strengthens the sense of tragedy as the story approaches its climax. All in all, this is as good a film as has come round in 1979, with a sensitive and important topic vigorously yet delicately handled, impeccably acted, and written and directed with verve and pathos and resounding high spirits, and withal an overpowering sense of the tragedy of war and of life itself.

—J. H.

rudebarbs

by Randall K. Hylkema


SO YOU SEEK SPECIAL RELIEF FROM THE PRICE GUIDELINES ?
WELL, MY COSTS HAVE GONE UP !
PRICE PATROL
HOT DOGS
#6 75
YEAH ? RAW WEENIES ARE UP ONLY 6% .
coming "Take THE MONEY and RUN"
NOW PLAYING: "The 7% SOLUTION"
SURE... BUT I HAD TO HIRE A STAFF
ROLPH FILLS OUT GOVERNMENT FORMS, LIKE A2617 : "WAGE/PRICE GUIDELINES COMPLIANCE". RAMONA WORKS OUT THE COST FIGURES THAT YOU GUYS DEMAND. AND MANNY, OUR LAWYER, PRESENTS OUR CASE TO YOUR OFFICE.
THESE FIGURES LOOK O.K.
THEY'RE CLEAN, MR. CARTER.
INFLATION FIGHTING IS TOUGH BUSINESS. GOOD EFFORT, BOYS !
HOT DOGS 6 99

Be Prepared...

"LEARN TO SURVIVE"
Ken Hale's "1980"
CATALOG OF BOOKS ON SURVIVAL AND RELATED SKILLS.....

My new book catalog is ready

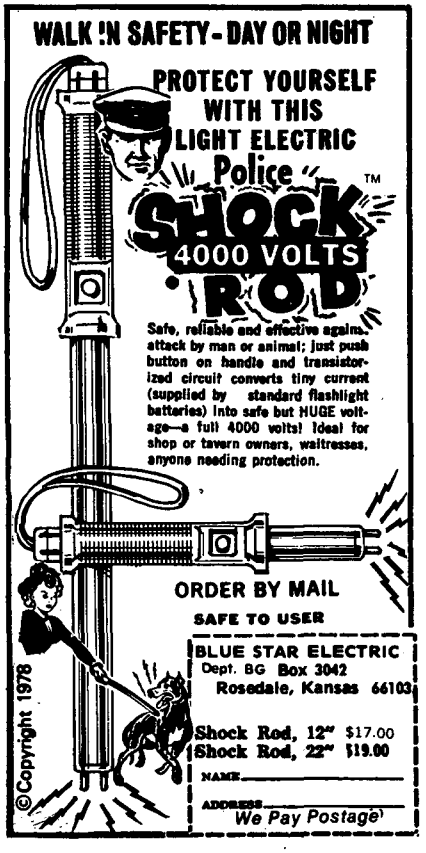
"BE A SURVIVOR." Only the wise and strong shall survive the coming turmoil in America . . . Depression, economic collapse, or even Nuclear War One?

We cover survival, self-defense, weapons, living in the wilds, guerrilla warfare, demolitions, plus much more.

IF YOU DON'T HAVE MY CATALOG YET, DON'T DELAY. (It's the biggest and best in its field.)

Rush $1.00 cash to: Ken Hale (108), McDonald, OH 44437. "LEARN TO SURVIVE." I'll send it free if you don't have a buck, but get it now.

Send to:_____


WALK IN SAFETY - DAY OR NIGHT
PROTECT YOURSELF WITH THIS LIGHT ELECTRIC Police
SHOCK ROD
4000 VOLTS
Safe, reliable and effective against attack by man or animal; just push button on handle and transistorized circuit converts tiny current (supplied by standard flashlight batteries) into safe but HUGE voltage—a full 4000 volts! Ideal for shop or tavern owners, waitresses, anyone needing protection.
ORDER BY MAIL
SAFE TO USER
BLUE STAR ELECTRIC
Dept. BG Box 3042
Rosedale, Kansas 66103
Shock Rod, 12" $17.00
Shock Rod, 22" $19.00
NAME
ADDRESS
We Pay Postage!
©Copyright 1978

viewpoint

(*Continued from p. 58.*)

is. When some pompous cretin announced, "I accept the universe," Dr. Johnson's pungent comment was, "Egad, you'd better." And I very much suspect that when the new voices for "liberty is not enough" finally uncork their trumpet to lead us all to the New Deal Promised Land, I am going to say, in the immortal words of Samuel Goldwyn, "Kindly include me out." But the important point is that the overwhelming bulk of the American people will surely sing out the same sentiment loud and clear, and even more harshly—and therefore that it would be a tragedy if the libertarian movement should ever embrace the new New Deal. ◻

letters

(*Continued from p. 14.*)

problems that didn't exist which have resulted in problems which are now very real. From this moment on, therefore, the production and distribution of energy will cease to be a concern of bureaucrats. Rather than subject energy to the same fate as our regulated railroads, I have decided that energy is an important enough product that it should be handled by a free market. Food, for instance, seems to be produced and distributed remarkably well despite a relative lack of direct taxes, price ceilings, government boondoggle research, protective tariffs, allocation systems, food lines, odd/even restraints, ration coupons, and supermarket police. The 18,000 employees of the Department of Energy, whose employment costs taxpayers more per year than all our imported oil and who curiously have managed to preside over the initiation and exacerbation of our energy problems, are hereby dismissed."

Robert R. Prechter, Jr.
Stamford, CT

Novel Freedom

Some legal moves down here in Florida might be of interest to REASON readers.

On July 1, the Florida legislature did not renew the power of the Florida Board of Psychology Examiners. This bureaucratic board had existed for the purpose of deciding who would and who would not practice psychology in Florida. The board met its end under the sunset law which requires that the legislature continually review and justify the existence of government boards and agencies. Rep. George Sheldon, chairman of the House Regulatory Reform Committee, pointed out that the board prevented the licensing of many qualified psychologists with overly restrictive requirements.

Unfortunately, no legislator has expressed the libertarian view that no board should exist in the first place.... If the legislators act in their predictable fashion, it won't be long before new guidelines are schemed up to take the place of the old ones.

So far there has been a rush for the unregulated licenses by Florida citizens and citizens from throughout the U.S. It seems that these new-found psychologists are eager to grab whatever freedom is allowed them. The novelty appeal is tremendous, since freedom is a novelty these days. The occupational license tax collector's office is reaping the rewards—each license issued brings in $7.50.

Some Florida psychologists filed a class action suit to halt the licensing in Dade County. They were moaning about "quackery" in the field and were no doubt concerned about their protected source of income. Some counties have passed regulations preventing the licensing of "school children, pranksters, and pets."

So I have printed up some flyers and started a campaign to promote the concept of unregulated psychology.

Rex Curry
Plant City, FL

Nontraditional Education

In response to Ms. Pruden's remarks [Oct.] about my treatment of the John Singer case [July]:

The merit or lack of merit of the beliefs and practices of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (for convenience the "L.D.S." or "Mormon" church) is not a question considered by the article. The ultimate issue here is who has the right to direct children's learning experiences—the State, or the family and individual child?...

To establish a legal authority to mandate attendance at certain schooling experiences requires compulsion of those who would not choose to attend freely. That compulsion is wrong, or that it may even reach nightmare proportions, is an issue long argued between statists and libertarians. The Singer case reveals how far the State might go in attempting to control the learning experiences of chil-

WHAT'S REALLY GOING ON IN THE LIBERTARIAN MOVEMENT?

Only one publication gives you the whole picture:

frontlines
reason's newsletter for libertarians

When we set out last year to create a newsletter for libertarians, many people were skeptical. Did the movement really need yet *another* publication? Wouldn't it be just another vehicle for promoting one particular faction? Could any libertarian newsletter actually come out on time and deliver *news?*

Now that FRONTLINES is a reality, many people are rethinking their skepticism. In less than a year FRONTLINES has set a new standard in libertarian publications. Our readers have sunk their teeth into hard-hitting stories such as:

- The first published analysis of and reply to *National Review*'s attack on libertarianism.
- A detailed report on the hubbub concerning *Libertarian Vanguard* and the Radical Caucus.
- News reports on libertarian new-country projects in Africa and the South Pacific.
- A background report on Ayn Rand's inner circle today.
- The full story of the "Space Cadet" controversy.
- The first published reports on NBC-TV's *Atlas Shrugged* project—and its cancellation.

Plus bulletins from Washington, reports from libertarian activists overseas, backgrounders on useful organizations, and an up-to-the-minute calendar of conventions, conferences, and supper clubs of interest to libertarians.

Not everyone has been pleased with FRONTLINES. Some people think a libertarian publication should print only favorable news and actively promote favored factions. We disagree. Our job is to be journalists, reporting what goes on and giving space for all shades of libertarian opinion.

See for yourself what a *real* libertarian newsletter is like. Charter Subscriptions are still available at only $12 a year, a *20 percent saving* off the regular $15 price. And each issue will be sent to you by *first-class mail.*

Controversial? Yes. Dull? Never. Try FRONTLINES today.

FRONTLINES, P.O. Box 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93103

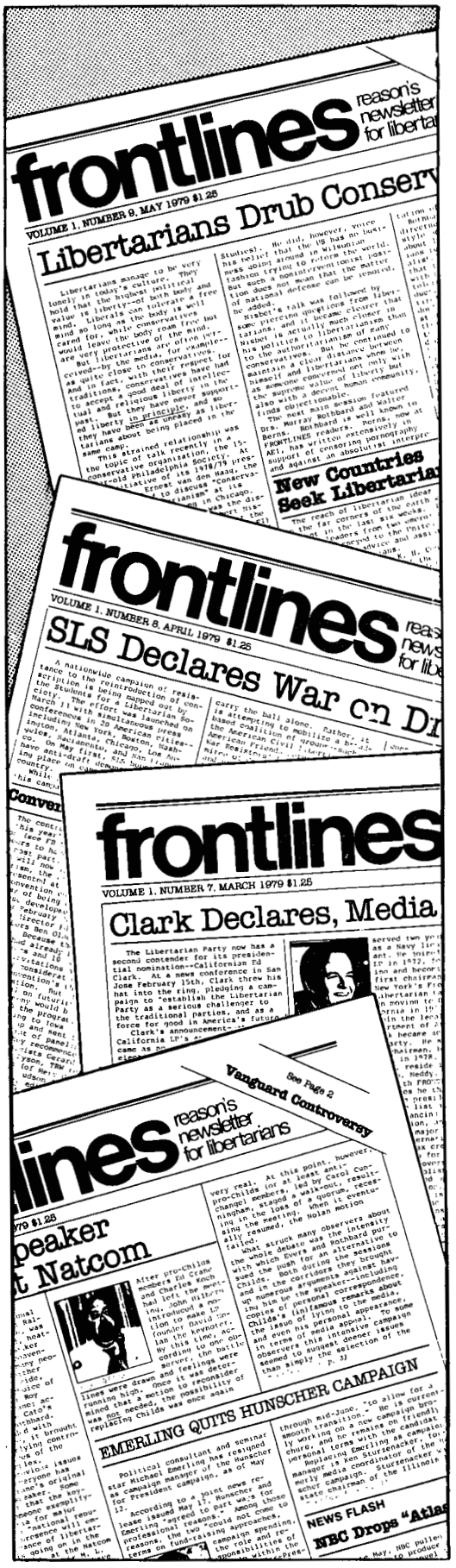
☐ Sign me up as a Charter Subscriber to FRONTLINES. My check or money order for $12 is enclosed. (Payment must accompany order.)

Name _____

Street _____

City/State/Zip _____

($20 per year, via airmail, outside U.S. and Canada)



dren and their intellectual development.

Polygamy is a secondary issue in the Singer case. The majority of State action centered around education. Polygamy was first introduced into the Mormon church in 1843. It was introduced into Utah in 1847, as the article states. This being the year of the first religious settlement by the followers of Brigham Young....

The figure of up to 50,000 people presently living in plural marriage was issued this year by Utah attorney general Robert Hansen. There is an "underground" polygamist movement in Utah with a newspaper. Since polygamy is now officially against church policy, those who practice it either leave the formal L.D.S. church structure, basing their actions on the writings in the Book of Mormon, or they practice plural marriage secretly and remain within the formal church.

The racial beliefs and practices of the L.D.S. church have been a matter of controversy for some years. Specifically, blacks were not allowed to hold the "priesthood" until June 1978. This office has been open to all adult males who are members in good standing with the church. In 1977 a Mormon bishop was excommunicated for ordaining a black into the priesthood. The church had held that blacks bore the mark of Cain and thus could not hold the priesthood. On this count, John Singer had few differences with those Mormons who practice within the church structure.

The movement of parents seeking to provide learning experiences outside of the traditional schools is rapidly growing. The case of John Singer is certainly *not* an example for those who wish to do this successfully themselves. It is an example of what they may be up against. I urge those who wish to pursue home schooling to subscribe to *Growing without Schooling*, 308 Boylston St., Boston, MA 02116. *G.W.S.* is edited by Mr. John Holt, who has contributed much to liberating the learning process.

Gerald M. King
Inverness, FL

Movement Perils

There are some criticisms that need making in regard to Thomas Hazlett's treatment of the Jonestown massacre [July].

For one thing, it is not plausible to assume that the socialism of Jim Jones' ministry was a major cause or indispensable element of the massacre itself. Jones was a paranoid megalomaniac who was able to charismatically manipulate a congregation that was predisposed to religious fanaticism. Such a combination of leader and followers can gravitate to disaster under many guises, socialism being only a convenient vehicle. To wax wroth over Jones' socialism makes as much sense as holding Hitler's "socialism" responsible for the evils of Dachau and Buchenwald. The issue of overriding importance is that Jones capitalized on the American obsessions with sex and death—a cultural heritage left over from the Puritans.

Rather than attempt to penetrate the psychological and religious causes for the massacre, Hazlett exploits the horror of Jonestown as nothing more than an opportunity to hold up socialism for self-righteous libertarian contempt. Such journalism is scarcely more than ambulance-chasing.

It would be very unwise to dismiss the events of Jonestown as being merely an aberration of statism. The mentality of Jim Jones and his congregation can occur in any movement—even the libertarian movement. This possibility is not remote: I can personally attest to the occurrence of an attempted tavern robbery committed by self-proclaimed libertarians who rationalized their actions as an attack against the State. Moreover, there remain a scattering of charismatic cults within the movement today, whose members espouse doctrines of varying rationality, some going so far as to style themselves violent revolutionaries. Admittedly, the number of such fanatics is small—but the mischief they could perform can have far-reaching and decidedly unwholesome effects.

In consequence of the above, I believe the Jonestown massacre is far too important an event for libertarians to sniff at with supercilious contempt.

Mike Dunn
Federal Way, WA

USPS Heard From

I just finished reading the article "Denationalizing the Mails" by Jeff Sampson [September].

I believe in the free enterprise system, but because of poor circumstance, lack of political pull, or what have you, I found it necessary to work in the Post Office.

I have personally found much of what Mr. Sampson writes about the inefficiencies and wastefulness of the Post Office untrue, at least as to what I have observed. Most employees do a respectable and adequate job. Things are not perfect, but most employees and management try to upgrade production and quality of work. Also, he states that there is a no layoff clause for the employees who presently work at the P.O. Not totally correct, as the last union contract states that those hired after September 15th (I believe the *date* is correct) 1978 are subject to being laid off. Furthermore, it was stated that the P.O. is a money-losing organization, but I understand that this year it managed to stand on its own and make a profit. Please correct me on this if I am wrong.

Just wanted to write a few words in defense against Mr. Sampson's article.

Joel Stewart
Van Nuys, CA

Form 3526
STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION
(Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

1. Title of publication: Reason. 2. Date of filing: September 25, 1979. 3. Frequency of issue: Monthly. A. No. of issues published annually: 12. B. Annual subscription price: $19.50. 4. Location of known office of publication: 1129 State St., #4, Santa Barbara, CA 93101. 5. Location of the headquarters or general business offices of the publisher: same. 6. Names and complete addresses of publisher, editor, and managing editor: Publisher (*Name and Address*): Reason Foundation, Box 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93103; Editor (*Name and Address*): Robert Poole, Jr., Box 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93103; Managing Editor (*Name and Address*): Marty Zupan, Box 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93103. 7. Owner. Name: Reason Foundation. Address: Box 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93103. 8. Known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities: none. 9. For completion by nonprofit organization authorized to mail at special rates (Section 132.122 PSM)—the purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes have not changed during the preceding 12 months.

10. Extent and Nature of Circulation	Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months	Actual No. Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date
A. Total No. copies printed (*Net Press Run*)	17,429	18,000
B. Paid Circulation		
1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales	318	359
2. Mail Subscriptions	15,789	16,651
C. Total paid circulation	16,107	17,010
D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means samples, complimentary, and other free copies	333	365
E. Total Distribution	16,440	17,375
F. Copies not distributed		
1. Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing	989	625
2. Returns from news agents	0	0
G. Total	17,429	18,000

11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete, signature and title of editor, publisher, business manager, or owner: Robert Poole, Jr., Editor. 12. (inapplicable).

ENHANCE THE CAPACITY FOR CREATIVITY AND LOVE WITHIN THE UNDISCOVERED CONTINENT.

For most of us the great, undiscovered continent is the internal world of private experience. Our greatest problem is self-alienation—loss of contact with who we are, what we feel and what we know.

THE IMPORTANCE OF SELF-ESTEEM

Self-esteem is the experience of being competent to live and worthy of living. The level of our self-esteem is the single most potent factor in determining our effectiveness as human beings, in the areas of work, love, and human relationships generally.

Most of us know that we are not living to our potential. We would like to feel less tense, confused, frightened and guilty—and more alive. We sense within ourselves the capacity for greater creativeness and greater happiness in romantic and family relationships than we have ever experienced.

SELF-ESTEEM AND THE ART OF BEING aims at putting us in contact with our own highest possibilities. It operates in an atmosphere of warmth, respect, and great regard for human dignity.

LEARNING TO HONOR OURSELVES

"Self-esteem comes from refusing to live lies or to fake who we are," holds Dr. Branden. The distortion of our reality—the denial of our perceptions and feelings—begins in childhood. Fortunately, we do not have to be stuck there.

Most of us carry within us a good deal of buried childhood fear, anxiety and pain that obstructs our life as adults. Through confronting and re-experiencing these feelings we can learn to let go of them—to break free. We can accept the words of James Thurber: "Let us not look back in anger, or ahead in fear, but rather around in awareness."

LEARNING TO HEAR—AND LOVE—THE MUSIC INSIDE OF US

The art of being is the art of knowing and accepting who we are, at every moment of our lives. It is the art of awareness without denial or avoidance. It is the knowledge that we do not exist to fulfill anyone else's expectations or demands. It is the ability to relax into the fact that our lives are our own to live and that the responsibility for our happiness is ours to take.

ABOUT DR. NATHANIEL BRANDEN

Nathaniel Branden is the author of The Psychology of Self-Esteem, Breaking Free, and The Disowned Self. He is in private practice in Los Angeles, is Executive Director of the Biocentric Institute, offers training to psychologists, psychiatrists and other mental health professionals, and conducts INTENSIVES in major cities throughout the United States.

ABOUT THE INTENSIVE

The central goal of the workshop is a profoundly enhanced experience of self-acceptance, self-trust, self-assertion and self-esteem—which leads, on the one hand, to a liberation of intelligence and imagination, and, on the other, to an increased capacity for honesty and authenticity in human relationships.

One does not have to hate oneself in order to love oneself more. One does not have to have an "inferiority complex" in order to grow in self-confidence and self-respect.

WHY THE INTENSIVE WORKS

"It is not simply the nature of the experience, but the particular focus distinctive to Nathaniel Branden's work: his ability to create a world in which people feel it's right to be at their best; his focus on the fundamentals of our experience as human beings, our sense of ourselves and our desire to get the most out of life; his integration of our physical, emotional and intellectual selves; his knowledge that we grow by experiencing and that we need understanding of our experience for it to be clear and lasting; and the example he provides by the intensity of his own commitment to life."

Reason Magazine,
Dr. Cheri Adrian

SELF-ESTEEM AND THE ART OF BEING

A 3 1/2 Day Intensive Workshop conducted by Dr. Nathaniel Branden. Its aim: to enhance the level of the participants' self-esteem and thereby to enhance the capacity for creativity and love.

Telephone or write for information on how to participate in the workshop.

INTENSIVE, SELF-ESTEEM AND THE ART OF BEING

New York/Los Angeles/ Chicago/Detroit/Toronto/ Denver/Seattle

THE BIOCENTRIC INSTITUTE
P.O. Box 4009, Beverly Hills, CA 90213, (213) 274-6361

classifieds

ANNOUNCEMENTS

THE "RIGHT OF ABORTION": A DOGMA IN SEARCH OF A RATIONALE, other pro-life articles from a non-religious, libertarian perspective. $1.00. LIBERTARIANS FOR LIFE, 13424 Hathaway Drive, #1, Wheaton, MD 20906.

ACUPUNCTURE TRAINING: Learn as ancient survival medicine, vital barter skill, or drugless health care system of future. Little medical knowledge required, safe, effective, economical; great demand. Complete thirty-one lesson (850 page) proven home study course with electronic acu-point detector, supplies, final exam for Certificate. N.A.B. accredited, program established 1973, has trained hundreds of North America's best nonoriental practitioners. Short follow-up summer and winter resident training available if desired (extra). First twelve lessons and detector $155; complete course $400 (or one Krugerrand by registered mail). Occidental Institute of Chinese Studies Alumni Association, 6702 Biscayne Boulevard, Miami, FL 33138.

BLACK MARKETS around the world... Burgess Laughlin, author of *Job Opportunities in the Black Market* (a US survey of victimless economic crimes), is researching black markets in other countries, particularly the smaller countries. If you know about black markets (victimless economic crimes) in other countries, or have contacts overseas, please call or write: Burgess Laughlin (503-221-1397), 710 S.W. Madison, No. 706; Portland, OR 97205. The author will gladly credit (openly or in code) those who wish to receive it; others will remain anonymous to the reading public.

BOOKS

ATLAS SHRUGGED—signed by the author, special tenth-anniversary edition (one of 2,000). For sale—best offer. Write Box MLS, REASON.

PROCEEDINGS of political philosophy conference. Hospers, Miller, Mavrodes, Versenyi, Matson, others discuss various aspects of liberty and justice. $1.50/copy, plus 50 cents postage. Very short supply. Reason Foundation, PE, 1129 State St., Santa Barbara, CA 93101.

EMPLOYMENT

WANTED: FILM PRODUCER. I have two feature scripts with libertarian themes—one topical drama, one Western. Seek producer capable of appreciating same. Box FP, REASON.

WANTED—Libertarians with special abilities. A spectrum of the leading libertarian publications, organizations, and activists has organized a clearinghouse to match people with jobs. If you would like to be among an elite group considered for responsible positions, send your resume to The Clearinghouse, 325 Pennsylvania Avenue S.E., Washington, DC 20003. Faculty members, journalists, professionals especially welcome.

SEATTLE LAWYER wanted to serve as corporate secretary on retainer basis for new academic books publisher. Directorship possible if desired. Box 21, REASON.

ADVERTISING SALES. Enthusiastic, hard-working libertarian? Come to Santa Barbara to sell ads for REASON. Excellent potential commission earnings and opportunities for advancement. Great ground-floor opportunity for a young libertarian. Write to REASON Advertising, Box 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93103.

FINANCIAL

BUILD A VALUABLE COLLECTION of Rare Natural Gems. Low, Gemcutter to YOU, prices! Information, 25 cents. Taylor's, 113-RN Martin, Indian Harbor Beach, FL 32937.

22% ANNUAL RETURN on participating funds. No buying, selling, or work involved. Limited financial risk. All funds fully secured by hard assets. Free information. PACO, Postbox 692, Harbor City, CA 90710.

OLD STOCK CERTIFICATES. Three for $5.00. Use as decoration or investment. Catalog 50 cents. Fred, Postbox 5823-R, San Francisco, CA 94101.

PROFITS FROM RARE COINS easy if you know how. The NUMISCO LETTER combines specific buy and sell recommendations with practical "how-to-do-it" advice. Backed by careful research, it guides the investor step-by-step through the fascinating world of numismatics. For a copy of THE BEST OF THE NUMISCO LETTER, send $1.00 check or money order to the NUMISCO LETTER, A-640, 175 W. Jackson Blvd., Chicago, IL 60604.

FREE ENTERPRISERS: Large opportunity gas-saving synthetic lubricants dealerships. Small investment, unlimited sales area. Write: Anderson Engineering, Epsom, NH 03234.

BUY SILVER COINS at face value. Complete details $2.00. Satisfaction guaranteed. Bannon, Dept. R-4, P.O. Box 942, Pittsburgh, PA 15230.

LIBERTARIAN-OBJECTIVIST registered commodity broker. Trading in all major futures markets. Emphasis on precious metals, financials, and currencies. To open an account call 816-524-5400, collect. Ask for Ted Lenger.

PERSONALS

BE READY! BLACK MARKET ECONOMY coming in wake of economic collapse. Nationwide non-(profit oriented) Coop ready NOW to supply basic needs at grass roots level. $1.00 brings details. Refundable if you decide to take your chances alone. NOW, Box 37142, LA, CA 90037.

I WANT TO RETAIN A LAWYER who is interested in cryonics and able to prepare trusts and other documentation needed for a person desiring to be frozen but not having confidence in the strength of the existing cryonics organizations—at least not to the point of wanting to be totally dependent upon them. Box M8, REASON.

DISTRIBUTORS WANTED. Like to see REASON in your local bookstore or newsstand? Become a REASON Distributor and make it happen! Make money while spreading libertarian ideas. Write REASON Distributors, Box 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93103.

PRODUCTS

THOUSANDS OF RARE symphonic and chamber works on quality reels or cassettes, most not listed in ANY standard catalog. Write CUSTOM CLASSICS, Dept. B., PO Box 584, Cortaro, AZ 85230, for full information.

"WARNING/GOVERNMENT MAY BE HAZARDOUS TO YOUR HEALTH." Striking! 4-color sticker designed for maximum visual impact! Message bright yellow on black, red WARNING on white diagonal, capitol dome in white. Stunning composition! 15" x 3-3/4", removable vinyl. Use on bumpers, windows, books, walls.... Great gift idea! $1.00 each, bulk rates over 5. FUNTHOUGHTS??, Dept. R, P.O. Box 130, Whippany, NJ 07981.

SHOW THE FEDS YOU CARE—with **Anti-Postage Stamps** [TM], depicting a snail delivering mail and the slogan: "Abolish the Federal Postal Monopoly"! $2/sheet of fifty stamps (+ tax if in Minnesota). 50% off for 100+ stamps. Mail Liberation, Inc., Department R, Box 14128, Minneapolis, MN 55414.

PUBLICATIONS

REASON LOVERS—I have a complete set of the first year of REASON plus 25 assorted first-year issues. Send request bids: David Narlee, 89 Fieldstone Dr., Londonderry, NH 03053.

THE NEW INTELLECTUAL REVIEW. Food for the intellectually hungry. Current issue: psychology by Juri Romaneko; arts commentary by Jesse F. Knight; poetry by Darlene Bridge; fiction by Malcolm Watt. $3 to Box 6718; Cherry Creek Station; Denver, CO 80206.

RATES: 25 cents per word, $5.00 minimum. For REASON box number instead of personal address, add 50 cents per insertion. Forwarding postage paid by advertiser. *All orders must be accompanied by payment*, and copy should reach us by the first day of the second month preceding the month of issue (e.g., advertising for the March issue, which is mailed early in February, should reach us by January 1st.

THE CLASSIFIED AD DEADLINE FOR THE FEBRUARY ISSUE IS DECEMBER 1.

HOLIDAY GIFT OFFER

Order a year of REASON for someone you care about, at special holiday rates. Just $14 for the first gift, $12 for the second, and $10 each for all others.

Yes—send REASON to the people listed on the reverse side. I enclose $_____ in payment for _____ subscriptions.

Name _____

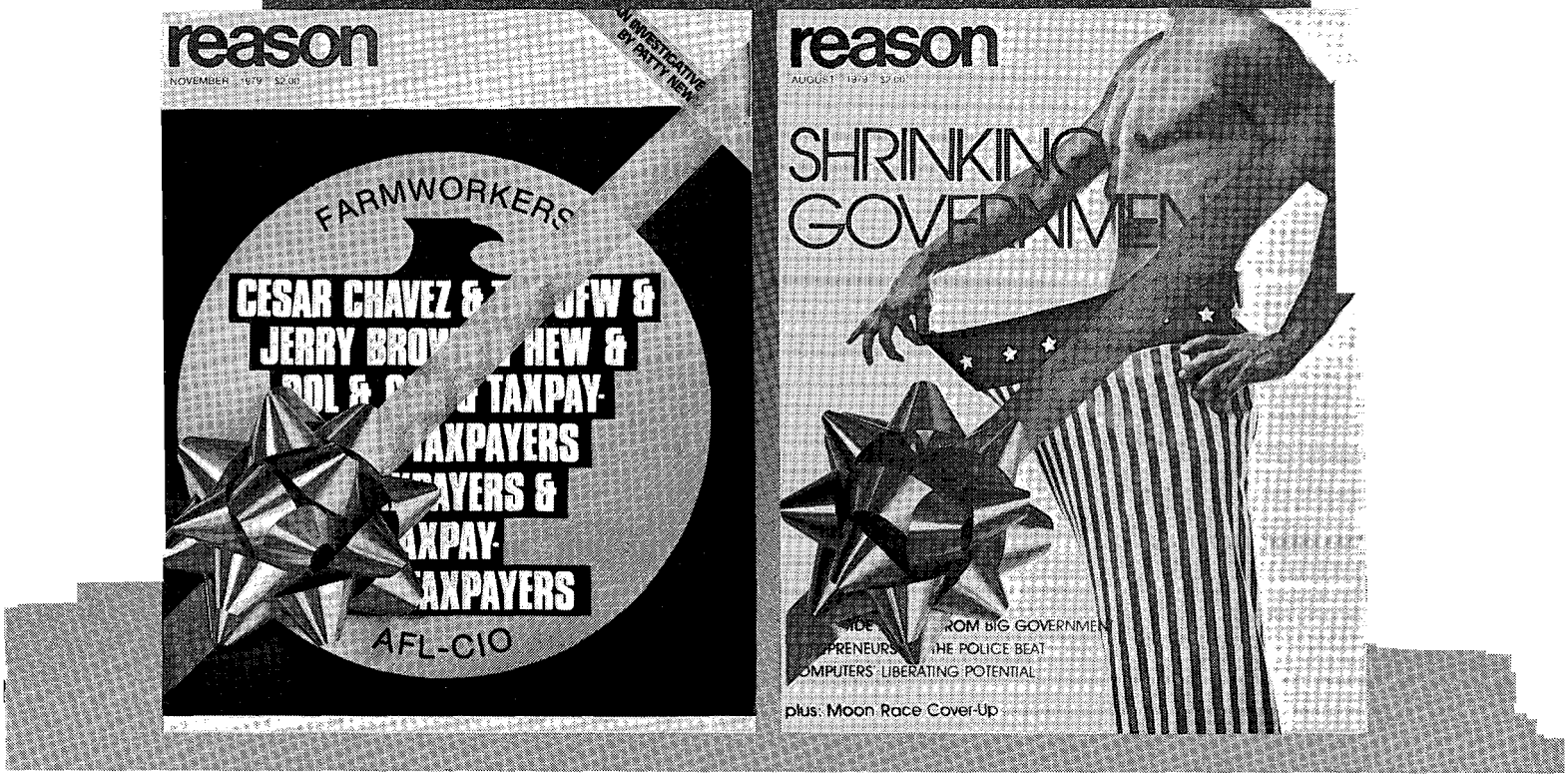
Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

(Add $2 for each overseas subscription)

Mail to: REASON, Box 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93103

REASON SEASON



In these times, a lasting gift is of special value. Reason spreads a spirit of liberty all year round. What can be better shared with someone you care for?

SPECIAL HOLIDAY RATES

First gift: $14
Second gift: $12
Additional gifts only $10 per year

REASON HOLIDAY GIFT
Box 40105
Santa Barbara, CA 93103

I want to spread REASON this holiday season. I enclose $_____ in full payment for gift subscriptions to the following people (please print names and addresses on a separate sheet).

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

(Add $2 for each gift to be sent outside of the United States).

ALL GOLD AND SILVER DEALERS ARE NOT ALIKE...

US PAPER EXCHANGE
division of Tempor Corporation ®

No State shall . . . make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in payment of Debts . . .
The Constitution of the United States, Article One, Section 10.

US Paper Exchange sells gold and silver because we are convinced that it is the most conservative way to store your wealth during inflationary times. We want you to understand this too — and will considerately answer your questions so that you may make the best investment decision.

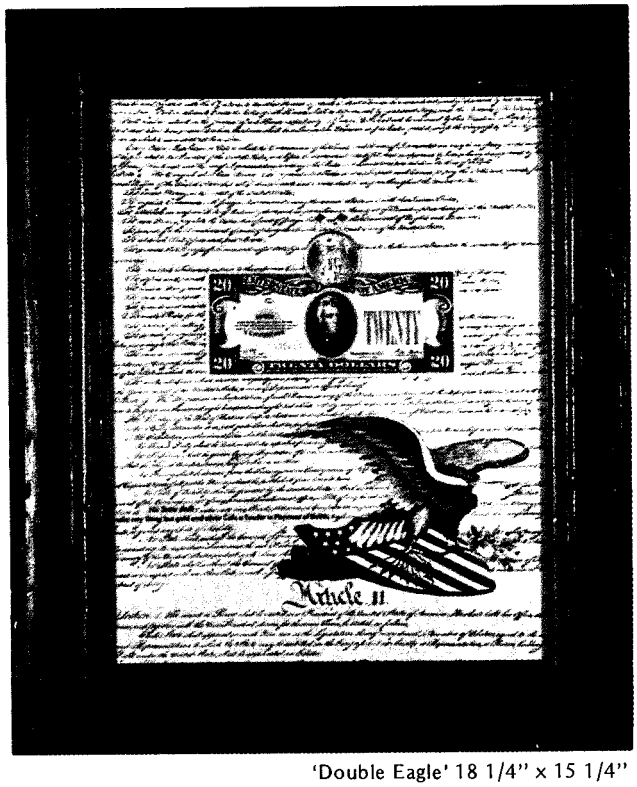
Consider some of the other features that make us different:

- We have **experts** in pension and profit sharing plans who will provide information as to;
  - Who qualifies and which type of plan is suitable,
  - How and where to have a plan drawn,
  - Which trustee can serve you best,
  - Transacting your purchase properly.

- We work with a reputable trust company that will act as your agent on a trading account. For $200.00 annually and $10.00 per transaction, they will;
  - At your request, switch funds between gold and silver purchases* and their money market trust fund,
  - Verify receipt of and hold your coins*.

  *We **do not margin** gold and silver — your purchase is 100% paid for and segregated.

- We recognize the importance of economic education in order to secure the wider end, freedom. Many people must know what inflation is (an increase in the money supply caused by government) in order to end it. With this in mind, we;
  - Conduct public and private seminars,
  - Issue informative bulletins and speak on radio programs,
  - Support those who explain and promote the Constitution of the United States.



'Double Eagle' 18 1/4" x 15 1/4"

We advocate returning to the gold standard. Article One, Section 10 of the Constitution of the United States, . . . **No State shall . . . make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in payment of Debts . . .**

The above provision inspired the creation of the 'Double Eagle'. US Paper Exchange is proud to make available these attractively framed copies of that part of the U.S. Constitution containing Article One, Section 10. The 'Double Eagle' embraces a brilliant uncirculated U.S. $20 gold coin (.9675 troy ounce of pure gold, .900 fine, 21.6 karats) and a $20 gold certificate.

Judge us yourself. We have competitive prices and knowledgeable representatives who adhere to hard money, 'Austrian' School economics. Write or call(toll free, outside Minnesota)for our free booklet "Inflation and Gold":, price quotes on gold and silver, and Constitutional money picture information.

© 1979 US Paper Exchange ● 1129 Washington Avenue South
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55415 ● Phone: (612) 339-2801
(outside Minnesota call toll-free: 800-328-4071)